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THE NEGLECTED WEAPON

WHEN a Government strikes a bad patch, largely from no fault of its own, its first instinct should surely be to seek the co-operation of every responsible organ of publicity to explain the causes of the crisis and prepare the public for the necessary measures it must take to meet it. The means of Government publicity are very extensive. The B.B.C., though independent and cautious, is prepared to collaborate. In a crisis, the Government has the right to demand B.B.C. time and need fear no criticism that in so doing it is indulging in party propaganda. At such a time even the most bitterly hostile newspapers feel impelled to support Government emergency measures, but the tone of their comment depends very much on the clarity and frankness of the Government's publicity. Moreover, the weekly press, whose function is more considered comment and carefully presented news, is of quite special importance in a time of emergency, since it is read by all those informed people who in this country still inspire and steady the public opinion on which the Government depends.

For some obscure reason, the Government appears to think that publicity does not matter. In a letter which we publish this week, Mr. Woodrow Wyatt, M.P., quotes two extraordinary replies by the Prime Minister, who seems to think that a press conference is all that is required to put the Government's case to the country, and that the White Paper is written in language which the whole public can understand. This suggests an attitude infinitely remote from present-day realities. Lord Salisbury could afford to be as aloof as this; Mr. Attlee certainly cannot. But even Lord Salisbury would not have gone as far as Mr. Greenwood. In reply to a question about the suspension of weekly periodicals he said: "I would not have thought that serious and enlightened opinion would suffer by having a fortnight in which to think for itself." The remark could scarcely have been worse. In the first place, it showed a remarkable indifference to the principle of the freedom of the press, and secondly, it implied that it did no harm to leave educated people without the facts and arguments on which to form an intelligent opinion.

The truth, we believe, is that Ministers are desperately overworked, and so harassed by grave difficulties which are not of their own making that they have not the time to realise that their hopes of success depend on explaining those difficulties to the public. We are a democratic country in which orders can only be given by consent of the people. They are willingly obeyed when the public understand. Never before has a Government had such a mass of goodwill behind it. In every constituency in England there are hundreds of willing workers who have a long record of devoted service to the Labour movement, and who are prepared, if they are given a lead and an opportunity, to do the Government's publicity for it. But they must be fed with information; they must be encouraged; their criticisms must be met and not regarded as rebellion. Mr. Wyatt suggests that, as an immediate step, the Government might create, not a Ministry of Information, but a Minister whose job it is to look after the Government's publicity. The appointment of such a Minister would do more to encourage the country than the sensible, but minor adjustments which the Premier is making in his Government this week.

After the Switch-on

Though resumption of full production has been impeded, as was to be expected, by shortages of semi-finished materials, by inadequate supplies of fuel for coal-using plants, and by "load shedding" in the case of factories dependent on electric power, a remarkable and encouraging feature of the switch-on has been the evidence that, in all parts of the country, workers have gone back to re-opened factories in a spirit of real determination to answer the call for increased production. How long that spirit will last depends partly on the attitude of employers, but more importantly on the short- and medium-term plans made by the Government for dealing with the aftermath of the emergency. Whether they like it or not, employers have got to realise that the maintenance of good morale in industry depends on securing the good will of the shop-stewards or similar democratically elected representatives of the workers on the factory level. The shop-stewards may represent the "militant" element, though a comparatively small proportion of them are Communists; but, without their collaboration, no sustained production drive can have a hope of success. In a few instances employers are reported to have taken advantage of the interruption of engagements to weed out from their employment shop-stewards of whose previous activities they had disapproved. The psychological effect of such actions and of the hostile attitude taken towards the shop-steward movement by Mr. Lord, Managing Director of Austin Motors, might well be disastrous. But, apart from this factor, the important thing is that the present readiness of labour to recognise the need for increased output must not be turned into feelings of disillusionment and frustration by physical shortcomings of the machine they have to operate. What can be done to prevent the wheels being slowed down by shortages of coal or by "sheddings of load" due to the inability of generating stations to cope with peak demand?

Coal and Power Rationing?

The miners have been given new indirect incentives in the shape of larger allocations of unrationed foodstuffs to shops in the coalfields; and, since nothing was said by the Prime Minister in his recent conference with the delegation from the N.U.M. about postponing the five-day week, it is to be supposed that the Miners' Charter will in substance come into effect this Spring. By dint of heroic efforts made by the miners during the emergency, weekly output has hit the figure of 4 million tons; but, pending greater mechanisation in the pits and particularly in underground haulage systems, it would be unduly optimistic

to expect coal production for 1947 to exceed the 200 million tons forecast in the White Paper. This being so, it is evident that the Cripps' Plan for allocation of industrial coal without priorities as between one consumer and another will bring about the necessary seasonal accumulation of at least 12 million tons during the summer months only if the whole of our coal-using plants are seriously restricted. It is equally clear that, unless "load shedding" over whole areas can be avoided—and it will take considerable time before there can be any adequate expansion of generating capacity—the whole tempo of British manufacture will be gravely affected. It follows that one necessary step must be the institution of an all-in system of domestic rationing of heating and lighting. To rely on domestic consumers voluntarily observing "close periods" for electricity would be an unwarrantable gamble: already, in many areas, failure to switch off in the banned hours is glaring. In the interests of equity as well as economy some form of domestic rationing in terms of thermal units is, in our view, essential. Industry must have priority. But what of the competitive demands of different sections of industry or, for that matter, individual firms? Here, too, we suggest, priorities will have to be assigned.

The Problem of Night Work

One method of avoiding excessive peak loads on the Grid is to stagger industrial hours. The reversion to D.B.S.T. from April to August and the extension of B.S.T. from mid-March to early November should make it easier to spread working hours over, say, a fourteen-hour day, as the T.U.C.'s Crisis Committee proposes. But Sir Stafford Cripps insisted in his interim statement to Parliament of fuel and power policy that the effective solution for the electricity problem lay in having one-third of all British manufacturing processes carried on at night. This drastic remedy, it is already apparent, involves serious difficulties; and negotiations between employers and trade unions in the engineering industry on this subject have broken down. Apart altogether from the special complications involved in the case of married women and juveniles, the trade unions are naturally reluctant to abandon the existing recognised practice whereby night work attracts extra pay—usually time and one-fifth, or time and a quarter. The employers argue that, if as much as one-third of their labour force is normally to be employed by night at night-work rates, the resulting increase in costs of production will have an adverse effect on their competitive power, particularly in foreign markets. It is, moreover, apparent that if there were a considerable increase in the price of manufactured consumers' goods as a result of extensive night work on higher rates of pay, the real wages of workers whose hours and earnings were not changed would fall, with the resulting probability of fresh demands for increased nominal wages. The problem, in short, is intractable, and illustrates from yet another angle the need for a detailed system of priorities in the industrial usage of electric power as well as fuel. The Government must make up its mind whether the whole machine is to be slowed down, or whether the more essential parts of it are to be kept running at full speed at the cost of stopping, or at least ruthlessly braking, the components less vital to our immediate national needs.

Palestine

The Government was warned last week from all sides of the House of the consequences which would result from its decision to announce neither a long-term nor an interim policy for Palestine. These warnings have been aptly confirmed. Last week-end both the Stern Gang and the Irgun went into action on a large scale, and thereby achieved their objective of compelling the new G.O.C. to impose martial law on large areas of Jerusalem and Tel Aviv. Thus, a state of war between Britain and the Jews is brought a stage nearer. Once again a British General has announced his determination to stamp out terrorism. There is little reason to suppose that General Macmillan will be much more successful than General Barker. The very severity of the measures employed—they have brought normal life to a complete stand-still in the areas affected—may well defeat their object. Since they cannot be maintained indefinitely, all the terrorists have to do is to stay quiet until they are lifted, and then strike again. Meanwhile, the ruthlessness of the measures will still further alienate those peace-loving Jews on whom we are calling for assistance. As we have frequently pointed out, a resistance movement can never be defeated by a foreign army so long as it receives the passive support of the population. Mr. Bevin's remarkable speech in the House of Commons, with its blank opposition to the basic principles of the National Home, will have assured the terrorists of passive support at the very least, not to mention large-scale financial assistance from American Jewry. From this *impasse*, which he has created, the Foreign Secretary has no way out except the withdrawal of our troops and officials, whom he is subjecting to an altogether intolerable strain. The main question is when we decide to go.

Congress and the Moslems

The first Congress reaction to the announcement that, come what may, the British would leave India in June, 1948 was enthusiastic. It swept away, except among the Congress Socialists who would be satisfied only by a revolution, any lingering suspicion of British good faith. But second thoughts have brought doubts. Interest is focussed on paragraph 10 of the White Paper which lays down that, in the absence of agreement by the due date, power may be transferred either wholly to the Central Government, divided between the centre and some provincial governments, or even distributed in an entirely new way altogether. In Congress eyes this seems as though the Moslem League will still have something to gain by refusing co-operation until the last possible moment. Mr. Jinnah's immediate comment that he will not yield an inch in the demand for Pakistan certainly lends substance to the idea. His actions will perhaps be determined by whether he is confident of keeping the support of the Moslem League for an all-out civil war as soon as the British go, and on the number of provincial governments he can capture during the next fifteen months. So far there are only Sind and Bengal. But the recent resignation of the Unionist Prime Minister in the Punjab to make way for a Moslem League Ministry may add a third province. If Mr. Jinnah can maintain a hold on these provinces and possibly add the North-West Frontier to the list, he may think it worth his while to wait, demand his pound of flesh and fight for the balance. In the meanwhile, Congress have strengthened their position by getting an amicable agreement with the Princes, so ensuring that over two-thirds of India is now firmly behind the Constituent Assembly.

Threat to Indonesian Peace

The Dutch thoroughly deserved Mr. Bevin's implied reprimand for their policy of delay and trickery in Indonesia. They have delayed the signing of the Cheribon Agreement by adding unilaterally, arbitrarily and without any reference to the Indonesians, a mass of addenda embodying their own interpretation of all the controversial or obscure points contained in the original text. As Dr. Sjahrir pointed out, either the original Agreement is useless and the negotiations must start all over again, or it is of some use—in which case these addenda are unnecessary. Whilst Dutch politicians play these delaying tactics, the Dutch military, encouraged by French policy in the Viet-Nam, plan a series of operations with "limited objectives," according to General Spoor, "to eliminate resistance without stirring up trouble over a wide area." He has 100,000 men and vast quantities of British supplies left over after the withdrawal of British troops last November. But this is not the sum total of the warlike intentions of the Dutch Imperialists. There is a Dutch naval blockade of the Indonesian Republic. All exports from Indonesian ports are forbidden, and British, American and Chinese ships have been stopped outside territorial waters. No wonder there is deadlock. More than a reprimand is needed from Mr. Bevin. A strong protest against the blockade should be issued at once, and an offer made to assist Professor Schermerhorn and Dr. Van Mook once more in an effort to find a *modus vivendi*. And surely, Dutch plans to reconquer Indonesia by war are a fit subject for the United Nations.

Missing Issues—Feb. 22 & Mar. 1

It is proposed to assemble the principal *New Statesman* contributions which have appeared in the columns of London Newspapers during the last two weeks. They will be printed as a Preface to the Index to the January-June volume, which will be published in July at the usual price of 1/- (post free). As the demand for this Index may, in the circumstances, exceed the normal, readers should inform The Publisher, now, of their needs.

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Freedom of the Press

Public discussion of the rights and wrongs of the suppression of periodicals has obscured the actual facts of the case. The Government could have used Defence Regulation 55 in order to close them down. But had it done so, an Order in Council would have to have been tabled and could have been "prayed" against in the House. Instead, the Minister of Fuel and Power stated that periodicals would cease publication. This fiat, as he later admitted in the House, had no legal backing. The P.P.A., which represents the majority of the periodicals, accepted the ban voluntarily and did not question its validity. When the Government permitted an approach to the P.P.A. on behalf of the journals of opinion, the P.P.A. replied that the order must apply to all or none and proceeded to forbid the issue of hand-duplicated editions. Does this constitute an infringement of the liberties of the press? Indirectly, yes; in law, no. The initial decision to make a distinction between the daily press and the periodicals, and to suppress the latter, certainly showed a lamentable lack of appreciation of the importance of critical comment to a free people. The daily and Sunday papers, which did understand that a vital principle was at stake and that the weeklies had a special function at such a time, promptly offered the weeklies hospitality in their columns with the result that it was unnecessary for this journal, for instance, to defy the ban and complete preparations for a handset cyclostyled edition. In the event, articles presenting our views were printed during the crisis twice in the *News Chronicle*, the *Evening Standard* and *Sunday Pictorial*, and also in the *Observer*.

The P.P.A. proved no custodian of press freedom. It did not challenge the Minister's instruction; it tamely accepted the view that periodicals should be treated as a non-essential industry. It is now clear that any periodical which had chosen during the last fortnight to defy the ban and had found a printer would have been legally entitled to continue publication. On the other hand, since the Defence Regulation was never used, the Government cannot be charged with suppression of free comment, but only with successful persuasion of a trade association to sacrifice rights which it should have fought to preserve. If the Defence Regulation had actually been employed, it is almost certain that the House of Commons and Fleet Street would have been successful in achieving the annulment of the Order in Council.

PARLIAMENT: Thawing Out

Wednesday

THE Parliamentary pipes are only beginning to thaw out. But it is already clear that the freeze-up caused a number of bursts, ranging from some back-bench drips to a full-scale Churchillian cascade. This is certainly a very different House of Commons from the one which was fumbling along before Black Friday. Of the Big Debates last week only that on Foreign Affairs ran true to form. A dull brief read by the Foreign Secretary emptied the House, which never filled again, despite a brilliant performance by Geoffrey Bing and an interesting catholic analysis by Christopher Hollis. On Palestine, after an astounding *tour de force* by Mr. Bevin, Oliver Stanley showed that at last the Tory desire to exploit a Government failure was stronger than their dislike of the Jews.

Monday's business was typical of the new atmosphere and the unfortunate Creech Jones was the first victim to receive the deluge. He has the makings of the best Colonial Secretary for a generation when he is away from the Despatch Box. But mere intelligence, knowledge and enthusiasm are unavailing if they are not reinforced by will-power. Brilliantly challenged by Leslie Hale after Question Time for evading his question on five death sentences in West Africa, he was enticed by an angry House out of the cover of the Royal Prerogative. Immediately he came under fire from Mr. Churchill; and again sought cover, this time behind the Governor of the Gold Coast. Again he was mercilessly driven into the open, and, looking despairingly for support behind him, found his own back-benches against him. There are no rules in the House of Commons against shooting a sitting bird. A miserable affair; which was to some extent rectified by Wednesday's explanations.

The main debate on Monday was on the Motion to introduce a drastic guillotine in the Standing Committees on the Transport and Town and Country Planning Bills. The Committee stage should have continued till the Whitsun recess, but the Government wants to finish this Session in August and so to avoid the three-week hang-over after the Summer Recess which nearly drove the Departments frantic last year. Faced with the choice of straining the Parliamentary, or breaking the Administrative, machine, it chose the former and so presented the Opposition with a powerful case.

Unencumbered by the need for stating a policy, the Tory front bench put on a first-rate show. Maxwell Fyfe and Anthony Eden scored successes in the Chamber and Mr. Churchill in the press gallery. Walker Smith was their best back-bencher. It was definitely an Opposition Day, the first since the General Election.

Late on Tuesday, the House returned to the Polish Resettlement Bill and gave Labour back-benchers a rare chance of displaying their powers of opposition. The formal issue was purely legal. But the real fight was against the tender solicitude shown to the London Poles, so the Tories were out of it. Chuter Ede's statement on future treatment of Poles who refuse to join the Resettlement Corps showed early on that the critics had gained their main object. But the Debate was kept up until 3 a.m. and enabled Leslie Hale, Geoffrey Bing and D. N. Pritt—with sound support from Bramall and Paget—to give virtuoso displays. It also occasioned the rare sight of Tom Driberg making a point of order during a Division, in a top hat borrowed from Sir William Darling.

Government spokesmen showed good-humoured forbearance. Perhaps they realised how lucky they are not to have their own back-benchers opposing them on major Bills.

The chief interest of these Debates has been the changed atmosphere. The Tories at last feel that there is support in the country, not for Peter Thorneycroft's high-falutin' design for freedom, but for old-fashioned, organised disgruntlement. They have at last begun to fight, but it is still uncertain whether the Government will fight back. If patriotism was not enough for Nurse Cavell, impartiality is not enough for Mr. Attlee. To rally and unite his supporters, he needs to add to the chairmanship in which he excels the fighting spirit which he displayed for a few unforgettable moments in the only censure debate of this Parliament.

The crisis has been the first serious test of the Cabinet and has caused some violent changes of reputation. The absence of Herbert Morrison has made his true value clear, and even his sharpest critics feel that Ernest Bevin, had he been Minister of Economics, would have averted much confusion and indecision both in domestic and foreign affairs. Incidentally, Mr. Arthur Horner might also have met his match. In a period when hard decisions are required, Stafford Cripps' austere integrity rings true, while Hugh Dalton's jollying tone is in danger of acquiring a hollow ring. As for the dead wood, both old and young, which litters the Treasury Bench, there is an uneasy awareness that it will take several more crises to excise it. The latest reshuffle of junior Ministers gives welcome promotion to Harold Wilson and, by sending Evan Durbin to the Ministry of Works, proves that pertinacious virtue is after all rewarded.

PHINEAS

FROM DUNKIRK TO MOSCOW

THE ceremony at Dunkirk in itself means very little. Anglo-French collaboration, like Anglo-American and Anglo-Russian collaboration, depends in the last resort not on formal treaties but on the gradual growing together of political and economic systems. Britain and France are neither of them any longer able, from their own resources, to maintain either an Empire or independence. In this respect, they are now on the same level as the smaller nations of Europe. Strategically, the European sub-continent, once the centre of world politics, is now a no-man's land between the power blocs of the New World and of the Soviet Union. If this unalterable strategic fact is permitted to dominate the Moscow negotiations and the drafting of the peace settlements, Europe will never recover from its present state of collapse.

The Dunkirk Treaty, if it means anything for the future, signifies a determination on the part of the British and the French Governments to prevent the division of Europe into spheres of influence. To achieve this end each country must achieve a degree of independence from the Ally which now dominates its policy. Britain, while regarding a war against the U.S.A. as inconceivable, must clearly reject the postulate that it can achieve security against Communism by relying on the American atom bomb. France, while recognising the geographical and political impossibility of challenging the Red Army, must be ready to stand for European interests even when they are thought by Moscow to endanger Russian security. Divided, France and Britain will remain the largest satellites of the two World Powers; working together they could still preserve the unity of Europe.

What happens at Moscow depends very largely on the ability of Mr. Bevin and M. Bidault to transform the Dunkirk formalities into an active partnership. Mr. Bevin has made it clear that, though he hopes for an Austrian treaty, only the first discussions of a German settlement can be expected at Moscow. The importance of the conference, therefore, will be found less in its actual results than in the grouping of the Four Powers which takes place during its proceedings. Will Mr. Marshall and Mr. Bevin ally Britain and America for yet another joint defensive action against Mr. Molotov's "aggression"? Will M. Bidault adopt his usual role of umpire and go-between? Or will the wayside ceremony on the route to Moscow produce at long-last an Anglo-French accord from which a European policy can emerge?

To these questions Mr. Bevin was careful to give no reply in last week's debate on foreign affairs. Keeping to his written brief, he limited himself to a pedestrian tour of the world's problems and some generalities about Germany. Thus he successfully avoided any statement interesting enough to dismay either the Americans or the critics in his own party. We are forced, therefore, in default of any public statement on Socialist policy, to deduce what Mr. Bevin thinks from what he does.

Here the signs are contradictory. On the one hand, it is encouraging to note that the Foreign Secretary is giving active encouragement to the embryonic European Economic Committee. European unity will not be achieved by vague talk of political federation. We have long urged in these columns the functional approach to the problem; and the European Economic Committee is precisely the type of organisation which, because of its unassuming and practical character, has the best chance of success. If large-scale barter can really be started between the Zones of Germany and the countries of Eastern and Western Europe, and if it can be further developed by the establishment of a central clearing house, that will be the beginning of sanity. In line with these efforts, it is encouraging to note that the Board of Trade and the Ministry of Food are now establishing trade contacts with the countries of Eastern Europe. In normal years they enjoy a large agricultural surplus and are able to export valuable raw materials, including timber, in exchange for finished goods. It is obviously desirable to obtain all the foodstuffs and raw materials we can from these "soft currency" countries and thus create the basis of an export-import area which can help when the American loan runs out.

But these indications of sane statesmanship are nicely balanced by other factors which indicate only too clearly that indecisiveness which is this Cabinet's most remarkable characteristic in dealing with foreign affairs. The near panic caused in America by our fuel crisis was the occasion for some unusually candid comment in Washington on Britain's function in the American scheme of things. It is now openly stated, for instance, that British troops in Greece are essential to American security and that, in return for their maintenance there, America is prepared to provide the economic subventions necessary "to prevent the spread of Bolshevism." A Foreign Office statement this week ostensibly turned down this offer but added the significant rider that "It is not contemplated that the withdrawal of troops will take place in the near future." Thus, while an actual agreement is repudiated, it is now a fact that America is assuming economic responsibility for propping up the Greek Government while the withdrawal of British troops is indefinitely postponed.

A similar position is emerging in the Middle East. Here, too, under the recent oil agreement, America is undertaking to supply the capital investment for the development of the oilfields, the construction of pipelines and the building of refineries in the Middle East, in Europe, and in this country. In exchange for these substantial benefits, Britain retains the full weight of political and military responsibility. As if to underline the implications, President Truman has announced that conscription (which ends in America on March 31) will not be renewed. He chose to make this statement in the week preceding the debate on the White Paper on Defence, which proposes that we should maintain conscript forces of over a million men until the end of March, 1948, with a further half-million in munition factories.

One of the difficulties in discussing Anglo-American relations is that they are never formalised. They consist of the sum of a large number of apparently isolated individual actions ranging from "informal discussions of arms standardisation" to "purely commercial oil agreements." But it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that, in American eyes, the role of Britain is to act as a Middle-Eastern policeman in exchange for economic assistance.

It is not sufficient, therefore, for the Cabinet to deny that any formal arrangement of this sort

has been made. Such denials may be good enough for a meeting of the Parliamentary Labour Party or even for the House of Commons. But the outside world is not so easily satisfied. It judges the Labour Government not by its speeches but by its behaviour. Whether a basis of agreement is achieved at Moscow depends on the Russian and French analysis of Anglo-American relations and of the Labour Government's policy for dealing with the economic crisis. If the Government sees Britain's future as the pensioned retainer of a vigorous New World capitalism, maintaining armed forces far beyond her economic strength out of the present American loan and in the hope of another after the Presidential election, then all talk of German or European unity is merely eyewash and the Anglo-French treaty is worth little more than the paper on which it is written. The two great blocs will continue to manœuvre for position over a prostrate Europe, and France will become as dependent on Russia as Britain on America.

The alternative is clear. If the Government excludes any further American subventions from its calculations, it cannot conceivably continue to assume sole responsibility for the defence of Anglo-American interests in Greece and in the Middle East. If it is determined that Britain shall stand on her own feet, then the capital re-equipment of our basic industries must take priority over inflated Defence requirements. The Socialist battle of Britain must be fought not by troops in Palestine and in Egypt, but by demobbed soldiers in our coal mines, foundries and mills.

The role, therefore, which Mr. Bevin plays in Moscow will be determined less by what he says at the conference table than by what Mr. Attlee does in Downing Street, after the debate on the economic situation has taken place. He is faced by the glaring contradiction between the White Paper on Defence and the Economic Survey. If the facts in the latter are correct, and if no further subvention from America is anticipated, then the Service budgets are monstrously inflated and he must cut them. But if those budgets are considered unalterable, then the Government should frankly tell the country that it is relying on further economic assistance from America in return for military services rendered. On this single issue hangs the answer to the question whether Britain's role at Moscow will be that of a Socialist European Power or of an American dependency.

AN ECONOMIC ENTENTE

"CAN Britain and France integrate their economic plans?" I asked M. Monnet a few weeks ago in Paris.

"I don't know. Let's see Britain's plan first," he answered with logical caution. Since our meeting, the Government White Paper—the Economic Survey for 1947—has been published; it can't have shaken Monnet's agnosticism, since, unlike the Monnet Plan—the *Premier Plan de Modernisation et d'Equipement* — the White Paper isn't a plan but the framework of a plan with the promise that the details will be filled in.

The French plan, evolved over a long period by eighteen *Commissions de Modernisation*, including eleven hundred representatives of employers, trade unionists, technicians, engineers, agricultural experts and government officials, represents a collective, national agreement (even an agreement on the 48-hour week) to aim at fixed targets. The White Paper, on the other hand, is the work of an Official Committee assisted by Civil Servants—"the administrative machinery for economic planning." Though it suggests that totalitarian and democratic planning are the only forms that planning can take, it represents, in fact, a third form—what its critics might call bureaucratic planning and its friends administrative planning. Whereas the Monnet Plan is the product of a national consultation, the White Paper is a professional scrutiny by experts. The Monnet Plan diagnoses, prescribes for each organ, and announces a date, 1950, for the cure—if the patient is good. The White Paper states the malady, and the doctor will call again next week.

Like Monnet, the Anglo-French Economic Committee, appointed by the two Governments to examine the problem of economic integration, discovers a basic difficulty in producing a joint plan even for the avoidance of conflict, when Britain's plan remains to be formulated and her detailed economic objectives are still unknown.

But this technical difficulty of co-ordinating British and French aims is overshadowed by the present fact that the general purposes of the Monnet Plan and the White Paper are not complementary but competitive. Since the theme of the Monnet Plan is that France must become economically independent through increasing her exports and balancing her trade, it contains many passages which could easily be transposed with passages from the White Paper, without affecting the reasoning of either document.

"If we want to achieve the necessary balance of trade, as appears possible towards 1950, we must more than double the value of our 1938 exports," says the Monnet Plan.

"The long-term target for exports still stands at 175% of 1938 volume. . . . There is nothing temporary about our need for exports," says the White Paper.

Might it not have been appropriate to have written this sentence of Monnet into the White Paper—that "if foreign assistance (in loans) is indispensable for us to reach the moment when our exports will entirely cover our imports. . . . that moment must come as quickly as possible, under pain of a crushing indebtedness and the threat of slavery"? And when Monnet says that, "unless French output can be increased through modern methods of mechanisation, France will have to exchange a continually growing amount of French work against a decreasing amount of foreign work, perhaps four or five hours of French work against one hour of American work"—might we not read Britain for France and British for French with equal relevance? More exports, more output is the need of both countries.

Because their problems are the same, France and Britain must seek similar, though potentially conflicting, solutions. Both must earn dollars—competing against each other in the hard currency areas. Both must modernise their industry with American machinery—bidding against each other with the American manufacturers for early delivery. As the world—outside America—gets poorer, so France must move the emphasis of her exports from luxury articles such as perfumes and model gowns to articles of use such as motor cars and textiles. According to the Monnet Plan, exports from the textile and engineering industries are due to supply more than half the export total for 1950. A hundred thousand motor vehicles will be exported in 1950. The export of chemicals will swell the total.

The Monnet figures for 1947 indicate that French exports are likely to be in competition with British products rather than to harmonise with them. The export of food and agricultural produce is designed to remain fairly static—11.3 milliards of francs for 1947, compared with 11 in 1946 and 18 in 1938. Minerals and metals will total 8 milliards, as compared with 6 in 1946 and 16 in 1938. But the great French export drive in 1947 will be to export 39 milliards' worth of engineering and electrical goods, compared with only 7.5 in 1946, 9 in 1938 and 23.5 in the peak year of 1929.

Let us take a particular problem which the Anglo-French Committee may consider—the question of agricultural machinery. Both France and Britain are to-day concerned with developing a large-scale industry for the manufacture of tractors, combine harvesters and so on. The Monnet Plan provides for a special allocation of steel, double that of 1946, in order to raise tractor production in 1947 to 12,000 units. The British tractor industry, with a headlong start over the French, chiefly because it has bought American patents, and learnt American methods of mass-production, is hardly inferior to the American tractor industry. If French agriculture is to be adequately mechanised—a principal project of the Monnet Plan—it would be reasonable for France to import tractors from Britain, rather than to go through the painful task of building up her own tractor industry. This raises a vital question of the means by which avoidance of conflict between the two countries can be achieved. It would be easy for the officials of the Anglo-French Economic Committee to evolve an ideal plan by means of which conflict between the British and French tractor industries could be avoided. But what would the French industrialists say if the committee issued a ukase that the French tractor industry should merely concern itself with special types of tractors, and not with mass-produced tractors for the general market? They would obviously object, thus demonstrating that, if there is to be an avoidance of conflict between British and French industry, it cannot be achieved by administrative officials, but only by a joint consultation between the industries concerned.

Let us assume that agreement is reached with France on the number of tractors to be made available by the two countries. Would it not then be necessary to determine—that is to say to restrict—the number of American tractors to be admitted into France and Britain? And what will the Americans say of any attempt to restrict the quantity of goods which they, with their great manufacturing and exporting power, are anxious to ship to Europe? Integration of trade with France, to be effective, must depend to a large extent on how the Americans interpret our agreement with them not to enter into combinations in restraint of trade.

Nor can there be co-operation with France unless there is a decision as to Germany's economic future. France believes that Germany should be an exporter of raw material, and semi-finished goods, rather than of manufactured goods. She would like to see between ten and fifteen tons of Ruhr coal brought to the Lorraine ore, rather than that the Lorraine ore should go to the Ruhr coal. She needs the coal of the Saar. Above all, she does not want to see an artificially boosted export of manufactured goods from the Anglo-U.S. zone into areas which they consider are proper fields for French exports. This aspect of economic integration between Britain and France, involving as it does the integration of the industrial policy for Western Germany with that of France and Britain, cannot be dealt with by a Civil Service Committee. It is a matter for the Foreign Secretaries and the Trade Ministers of both countries.

If the work of the individually able members of the Anglo-French Economic Committee is to have real value, the following basic conditions (over which they have no control) must be present. The export target for Britain's individual industries "to correspond with the global target"—in the language of the White Paper—must be worked out now, so that the British plan may be statistically complete. There must be consultations between industrialists and trade unionists of both countries, representing the industries which we are trying to co-ordinate. In the settlement of Western Germany, we must follow an economic policy favourable to France. And together with France we must present a firm front to America in asserting our right to make commercial agreements for our mutual benefit.

MAURICE EDELMAN

A GERMAN DIARY

In the third month of winter, the British Zone has a deathly beauty. The still plains of Westphalia stretch away from the train like a succession of lifeless Breugel landscapes. The ruin and rubble of the towns are camouflaged by the snow and by the long blue shadows cast by a brilliant sun. This land, you feel, lies at a frontier of the world. Its people seem strangely out of place, pioneers in a new wilderness desperately pretending that the future is not so hopeless as the present and the past. But the children, for whom this grotesque life is normality, take things as they come. They go sliding cheerfully through the wrecked streets on their sledges. They have no memory of the past to trouble them with regrets or self-pity. Perhaps they do not understand why their parents look confused, bitter and lost, as if they had been deported overnight across the borders of reality.

* * *

Life in the Zone this winter would have been sufficiently hard and uncertain without the fresh miseries added by the weather. Travelling from Hamburg to the Rhineland, across the frozen roads and rivers, you realise how the already precarious transport system has been throttled by the ice. Yet the Germans now make the Control Commission the scapegoat for all the evils visited upon them, though the general breakdown and the serious local shortages of food and fuel are by no means the sole fault of the British or of the weather. The German administration is often inefficient and sometimes negligent. I know of more than one case where potatoes and turnips were left to rot in the cold without good reason. But the British are the occupying authority and, as such, the natural target for all criticism, in England as much as in Germany. Some of it is undoubtedly justified. Much of the growing hostility towards Mil. Gov. can be traced, for instance, to Mr. Hynd's capacity for making promises which cannot be fulfilled when the time comes. The Germans, moreover, seem unable to make up their minds whether the evident confusions in British policy are due to a sinister scheme to cripple and starve their country or to sheer muddle. In Düsseldorf I was asked by a puzzled journalist why the British had refused a licence to a firm that wanted to make steel sinks for industrial purposes and had then permitted the same firm to use the steel for making children's toboggans. A young man in Hamburg, told that British messes were without any heat, replied: "We can understand it if we go short of coal. We lost the war. But, if the British are freezing here, that's nothing but their inefficiency."

* * *

Somehow, in spite of the difficulties, life goes on in the Zone, though much of its industry is at a standstill and the population is hibernating through the winter as best it can. In the universities, however, there is an extraordinary and unexpected vitality. Overcrowded, lacking books, paper, adequate teaching staffs and premises, the students are trying to make up for the lost years. Most of them, of course, have spent their youth in the Wehrmacht. Few of them are progressive by British political standards. Yet, from all the evidence, they are desperately anxious to learn, not only in the practical professions, but also in the arts and humanities. Of all social groups in Germany, perhaps, they are the one that feels most keenly its isolation from the world outside, its ignorance of things that we regard as trivial assumptions. As audiences for lecturers from England, these students are almost pathetically responsive. They are not the best material for re-education—prejudice and propaganda have done their work well—but a good deal can be done with them. Much, in fact, has already been done, thanks to the initiative and enthusiasm of the Control Commission Education Branch. After the Landtag elections this Spring, the British are handing over complete control of the universities to the German authorities, retaining only a power of veto. I wonder whether this decision is not a little premature.

* * *

I am glad I went up to Aachen. Heavily bombed, then fought through by the Americans, this old town and its surrounding countryside are linked to the rest of the Zone merely by the Patton Bridge at Cologne and by a road still mined at its verges. Aachen, today, is a frontier town without traffic, a market without a hinterland. "We are the end of the pipeline for food and coal," one British official said to me, "and this is probably the most unpleasant place in the Zone for British and Germans alike." All the same, Aachen has come to life again. Half-derelict, without sufficient teachers or books, the Technical University is crammed with students so eager to work that they are attempting far too much with almost desperate energy. Aachen, incidentally, is the first university to launch a scheme for taking working-class students sponsored by the Free Trades Union. This principle should be extended as quickly as possible. A majority of the German students are middle-class, many of them ex-Wehrmacht. The trade unions, I believe, are willing to find money to support students but are demanding that more attention should be paid to union matters in the universities' syllabus. At the moment, this is asking too much from the hide-bound professors, who are also faced with pressure for the democratisation of university administration.

* * *

I had a meal in the students' refectory at Aachen. Soup is distributed without coupons by one of the relief organisations, but the other courses—a turnip and potato hash with a sweet that looked like a custard pie—are sold at a low price as rations. This lunch, at best, was edible and fairly satisfying. The general policy behind the distribution of relief foodstuffs is that they are issued solely on the basis of need. Individual parcels and bulk supplies go through a German committee formed by the Catholic "Caritas," the Lutheran "Evangelisches Hilfswerk," the German Red Cross and the Jewish Community. The political or anti-Fascist relief bodies have no representation on this committee. Their members, thousands of whom spent years in concentration camps, have to qualify for help from the general pool in precisely the same way as any German Brer Rabbit who is now, by misfortune, sick or hungry. Are the former concentration camp inmates being steadily forgotten both by the Germans and by the British?

* * *

Existence, for most Germans today, is a catalogue of shortages far longer than anything within our experience. Like other countries devastated by the war, Germany lacks shoes for the children, houses, food, fuel, paper and clothing. But, more than anything else, Germany lacks contact with the outside world. In the long run, perhaps, this may be more serious than any material deficiency. The German Press spends a good deal of its exiguous paper ration on party and personal polemics. Some Germans, of course, see English newspapers in the few excellent Information Centres. Many more listen to the radio. But, apart from the soldiers, the staff of the Control Commission and a handful of lecturers and delegations, the Germans in our Zone have no contact with the people which conquered them and is trying, fitfully and with some confusion—no Military Government can be a perfect model—to teach them some elements of democracy. I don't know what the solution may be. But it is a strange experience to lecture to a pathetically eager audience of students who, for the most part, have no knowledge at all of all those things which are half-forgotten assumptions about politics and social life with us. Other devastated countries have the chance, if they care to use it, of understanding what is happening in the world around them. The Germans are still isolated, suspicious, a people which does not yet distinguish what part of its history to preserve and what part to reject, or even understand what its experiences in the last fifteen years really mean to the rest of the world.

* * *

Though Mr. Bellenger insists that the Army authorities are doing all they can to stop British troops engaging in black market deals, how can he explain this curious question which, I learn from a Sergeant in Neumunster, was included in the mathematics paper set in the Forces Preliminary Examination held in B.A.O.R. on February 12th?

> A man obtains a camera in Germany for 500 cigarettes, which cost him 1s. 1d. for 20 in the N.A.A.F.I. He sells it to a Belgian for 2,640 francs, which he changes into English money at the rate of 176 francs to the pound. How much profit does he make in English money?

Obviously, the arithmetic of the black market is assumed to be familiar to the soldier taking the exam.

* * *

"Germany now," a friend said in Berlin, "is not a country but a fantasy. Everything is true and nothing is typical." He was right. Every impression has its contradiction. The problem is which matters most. The slum school standing among the wreckage of the Hamburg docks, where the pale-faced and ragged children are as lively as a crowd of boys in Stepney? The young student who spoke fluent Hindustani and was studying the history of Buddhism in the hope of becoming a foreign correspondent in the Far East? Or the apparent lack of comradeship between one German and another—the Westphalian farmer living well while a family of deportees exists on its bare ration in an upstairs room? Then, in contrast to the shattered society only a few miles away, a small chamber in a seventeenth-century *Schloss* on the banks of the Ruhr, hung with a score of pictures saved from an Essen museum; three Van Goghs, two Gauguins, a Manet, a Corot and an exquisite Renoir. Outside, on the little bridge across the moat, five children with blackened faces, in fancy-dress, singing the Carnival song, while the evening sun shines redly through a hillside of firs. What will the pioneers make of this land? What Germany will they one day build again?

NORMAN MACKENZIE

THIS ENGLAND

A 5/- prize for the first entry in this column goes to M. Rosenkranz.

Paste entries on postcard or slip of paper and give details of origin. Address to THIS ENGLAND, 10 Great Turnstile, W.C.1.

Having had a leg amputated during the war I am, as a cripple, allowed an extra ration of soap. On producing a doctor's certificate to the effect that I only had one leg I was supplied with the extra coupons.

These coupons becoming exhausted I applied for a further supply, only to be told that I must produce a further certificate to the effect that my leg is still off!—Letter in *Daily Telegraph*.

Re the present political situation. I think the capitalists have a grand opportunity to put the country on its feet again. They should re-open their factories to non-union workers only.—Letter in *Birmingham Mail*.

Lady Williams, in a few words to the women, advised them to carry on propaganda against the Government by grumbling. "Every time you stand in a queue, grumble," she said. "I do—It all helps."—*Croydon Times*.

Mrs. L. Small, of Alma Street, Aston, Birmingham, said in evidence that while picnicking she saw the horse chase a couple up the river bank and then eat their sandwiches. She threw her coat over her own and her husband's sandwiches, but the horse ate through it to get at the food. Her husband complained to the Town Council.—Report in *The Times*.

PLAN FOR PLANNERS—I.

PLANNING is a term of widely varying possible meanings, which can range from a broad expression of intention and hope to a detailed set of precise, correlated instructions for the attainment of specific objectives. In the last war the decision to clear North Africa of enemy troops by converging offensives from East and West was a plan in one sense of the word; but the "operational" planning of movements of men, ships and material required to synchronise the attack at El Alamein, the landing at Algiers and the junction of two armies at Tunis, was something quite different. *Mutatis mutandis*, the analogy holds good in peace. A broad statement of intentions—increased production, expansion of exports, larger capital investment—followed by an "appreciation" of manpower and other resources, has been set out in the Government's "Economic Survey for 1947." This is not an operational plan, but should be regarded as the first vital step in any kind of planning. Sound tactical decisions derive from the clearest possible picture of the strategic purposes of the campaign and from a correct analysis of the available means.

The experience of the last war demonstrated that, for operational planning in detail, it is essential to concentrate authority in the hands of a supreme commander backed by an efficient planning staff. If the Government's intentions are to be realised by planning of this nature in the economic field, can it be said that the necessary machinery exists? Do the planning staffs of the various Ministries enjoy an adequate status in the hierarchy of Whitehall? Have they free access to all the information they require from the different Departments? Do they work in close contact at all levels? Is there, under Mr. Herbert Morrison, an Economic Chief of Staff responsible for co-ordinating all Departmental activities? There is little reason to believe that any of these questions can be answered in the affirmative. Experience in 1946 suggests that there can have been little correlation between the housing target of Mr. Bevan and the timber import programme of Sir Stafford Cripps; that the mutually competitive aims of greater exports and greater domestic investment were pursued indiscriminately; that allocation of materials for the production of electric appliances was determined with little reference to the Central Electricity Board; and that, even up to the first days of the February crisis, Mr. Shinwell's Ministry of Fuel and Mr. Barnes's Ministry of Transport worked with a lack of liaison which, had it existed between Movements and "Q" in General Eisenhower's staff, would have left Hitler master of Europe. In short, if there is to be anything resembling the sort of operational planning which was found to be vital in war, it will be necessary to create a new administrative mechanism.

One recalls inevitably—not perhaps as a precise pattern, but as a rough guide to requirements—the wartime Ministry of Production. The Ministry was only a part, but it was a key part, of the central planning machine. Headed by a Member of the War Cabinet who was in a position to take a wider view than the heads of Departments whose work he co-ordinated, the Ministry of Production, reasonably compact in size, was fully briefed on general policy and acted both as promoter and supervisor of the programmes of the other planning organisations—the Shipping Committee, the various Supply Departments, and the Manpower Committee. Its task, which it carried out with notable success, was to see that the consequential results of all decisions were thought out; that plans were carried through to their conclusion with determination but with sufficient flexibility where adjustments were called for; and that, above all, predetermined priorities were observed in the planning done by various agencies.

These conditions, which enabled the Ministry of Production to operate as both architect and policeman of planning, have largely ceased to exist. During the war, Government contracts had an overwhelming influence on the direction of production and employment. The activity of whole sectors of industry could be reduced or stopped altogether; or capacity could be held in reserve. Most of the compelling requirements of the Services could be stated simply in concrete, quantitative terms and schedules. Little weight had to be attached to the desires or objections of private interests. Above all, labour could be directed from job to job according to the needs of the situation. Things have changed. Today, Government contracts—temporary housing and a limited munitions programme—are not a decisive factor. Exercise of direct control through the Boards of nationalised industries functions in a relatively narrow field. Powers of direction of labour have gone: all that remains are a few restraints on labour leaving certain industries such as mining and agriculture.

True, some of the weapons by which plans were implemented in the war remain. Some important material supplies are still subject to allocation, and imports can still be generally controlled; industrial development can be influenced by the granting or withholding of building licences; profits, and therefore the activity of different *entrepreneurs*, can be affected by existing price controls; differential taxation may still be used both to encourage and discourage the business and perhaps the worker; and in the last resort, there remains in the hands of the Government the sanction of nationalising the recalcitrant, or, theoretically, even of invoking Defence Regulation 55 to close down enterprises detrimental to "the safety of the Realm." But these weapons tend to have a common defect: they are slow-acting and largely negative. They presuppose, for the most part, restrictions rather than positive encouragement; and in their use there is an obvious danger of getting the worst of both words in an economy of which eighty per cent is still "sparked" by the motives of normal private enterprise. Planning, like learning and Socialism, may be a dangerous thing if administered in small doses or applied in restricted measure over too wide a field. It may be better to plan thoroughly in selected sectors only, rather than interfere ineffectively and half-heartedly in the whole of a country's economy.

Yet, in the White Paper, the Government is explicitly committed to planning, and not merely in relation to the immediate aftermath of the devastating offensive of *Général Février*, or even the balance of payments crisis foreseen in 1948-49, when the dollar credits are exhausted. We are told that, when today's "major uncertainties" have been clarified, we shall have planning in relation to a five-year, or at any rate a fairly long-term, period. What sort of planning has the Government in mind? What it has said is that, having regard to our special economic conditions as an island dependent on foreign trade, with a consuming public used to "a wide range of choice and quality in what it buys," and with the decisions which determine production dispersed, as they are, "among thousands of organisations and individuals," British planning must be "flexible" and "democratic." From these definitions, in themselves, few need dissent. There must obviously be flexibility in peacetime—as in wartime—planning, if bottlenecks and unmanageable accumulations are both to be avoided. Targets frequently require rapid adjustment, as the recent sudden decision to restrict the building labour force, in view of the foreseen timber shortage, illustrates. As for the "democratic" element, even in war a supreme commander can only get the necessary wholehearted co-operation from all branches of his staff and Supply agencies if there is general agreement, amongst soldiers and civilians alike, that the overall plan makes sense. Still more emphatically a planned economy campaign in peacetime—above all in a society such as that of Britain today—requires massive consent. Even in the U.S.S.R., where planning is totalitarian, it is obvious that the pattern to be achieved at the sacrifice of some personal liberty must secure approval by an effective majority.

The section, however, of the White Paper which distinguishes between the types of planning appropriate and inappropriate to a democracy still leaves unanswered two vital questions. How detailed, how "operational" is the planning to be? And to what extent is it to be circumscribed by considerations of political expediency or social equity? The "Survey" is disquieting in that it gives the impression—particularly in the relatively modest alterations which it appears to contemplate in the distribution of manpower—that the Government's conception of planning is unduly influenced by what is happening at the moment, and limited too much by an assessment of what are the reasonable prospects of effective changes in a short period and on the basis of existing powers, the present administrative mechanism, the short-term availability of resources and the existing interests and frictions.

AYLMER VALLANCE

(To be concluded)

AMERICAN REACTIONS TO BRITAIN'S CRISIS

"BRITAIN is a good risk," was the opinion expressed last week by the American Ambassador designate. Lew Douglas is an intelligent conservative businessman and head of one of the largest insurance companies in the world, so his opinion carries some weight amongst his colleagues on Wall Street. But there are plenty of gloomier prophets willing to sell Britain short, as an "old run-down country" which is on its last legs Everyone has an opinion; Britain's crisis is America's great question.

The most pessimistic predictions are born not so much from fresh observation as from the habit of predicting that the decline of the British Empire must soon be followed by its fall; and the decline, of course, dates from 1776. But another emotion is struggling with the mournful satisfaction of seeing the mighty brought low and Imperialism receiving its just deserts—the emotion of fear that, where the British are failing, the Americans must try to succeed. The pleasure of seeing your rival bowled is diminished if you are next man in. Triumphing over all other emotions, because the Americans are a sentimental and kindly people, is sympathy with the British in their frigid plight, and admiration for their fortitude. In American eyes to be British is to be cold, but to be all that cold is pathetic. Not since Dunkirk have British Consulates and offices been so deluged with offers of help from the ordinary men and women of America. The popularity of the President's offer of coal was only equalled by that of Attlee's dignified refusal.

Though it has not been absent, there has been a minimum of blame for the Labour Government. American opinion generally regards the Labour programme as an "extravagance," and tends to think Socialism the cause of economic stringency rather than the effect. But with the exception of a few hoary old conservatives such as Hearst, John Knight and the business section of the *New York Times*, the tendency has been for the anti-Socialist American Press to be far more realistic about the causes of the crisis than their British counterparts.

Indeed, the clarity with which the American Press and commentators have summed up the events of the past three weeks, and placed them in their historical perspective, has given their public an exaggeratedly severe picture of Britain's crisis. Gibbon and Spengler are on many more lips than bookshelves. The fuel crisis, the economic White Paper, Palestine and the withdrawal from India are interpreted not merely as symptoms of the decline, but as the actual fall of the British Empire. A nation which was so shocked by Mr. Churchill's pledge not to liquidate the Empire cannot fail to give public expressions of pleasure when Mr. Attlee reverses this policy. There can be no doubt that the British Government has gained acclaim and prestige in America by its recent actions in India and Burma, though

they are regarded as the dictates of military weakness rather than moral strength. But American pleasure is by no means unmixed with trepidation at the ultimate results of this policy.

Thoughtful Americans fear that, where Britain withdraws, there will be a "power vacuum," which must be filled by either American or Russian power. At the same time that these trials are thrust upon her, America finds herself "precariously isolated" by the weakening of her main ally—Britain. The withdrawal from India leaves America to face Asiatic nationalism and Russian imperialism alone; the submission of the Palestine problem to Uno means that America must reconcile her domestic politics with her strategic interests; and at the same time America sees that she can no longer leave Europe in the safe hands of Britain.

Opinion has not yet crystallised on how these problems are to be met. Three courses have been suggested. First, there is the emergency operation of shoring up Britain by loans and gifts so as to put off the evil day as long as possible. Secondly, it might be possible for America to snap up the White Man's burden wherever the British lay it down before the Soviet can get there. Thirdly, it might be possible to do a deal with the Russians by marking out spheres of influence, and letting the British Empire get what is coming to it. Walter Lippmann, who has a genius for lucidly expressing American confusion, has in the course of two weeks given his considered approval to all three plans.

The third course seems at first sight extremely unlikely. It is, however, a version of the Yalta policy, and can be interpreted as in accordance with Henry Wallace's Madison Square Garden speech. The Russian blessing of the American "trusteeship" in the Japanese-mandated Islands might be the beginning of a series of such deals. It has above all the merit of not demanding strenuous action by the United States. For America, too, is suffering a crisis of power; not, like Britain, lacking power, but unwilling to exert the power she possesses. General Marshall devoted his first public address as Secretary of State to pointing out the dangers of this attitude.

The State Department undoubtedly favours an approach towards the second course—taking up the burden. In a very significant part of his Princeton speech General Marshall said: "I say to you as earnestly as I can that the attitude of the spectator is the culminating frustration of man's nature." He went on to draw parallels between the present world situation and the decline of the Athenian Empire, with the implicit thought that America was destined to play the part of Rome in taking up the torch where Britain laid it down. But the State Department is bound by the actions of Congress, where last week the House severely cut the appropriations for the armed forces.

In the same way the Administration's desire to help Britain economically may be nullified by vote-catching in Congress. The imminence of the 1948 Presidential election tends to make politicians more solicitous of Labour (which has votes) and less solicitous of foreigners who have not. Thus, at a time when there is genuine concern for Britain's dollar problem, we have to pay our full share of the dollar costs of occupation in Germany, and have to spend $100,000,000 on purchasing ships that had been chartered to us. Even more serious is President Truman's apparent surrender of the substance of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements, by accepting the "escape clause" which lets America terminate any concession that in fact increases American imports. If this is to be America's attitude at the International Trade Conference this Spring, there is no hope for expanding world trade, no hope that Britain can balance her dollar account, and no hope that she can reach her export targets. Furthermore in such a political atmosphere as this, which will continue in America for at least two years, there may be occasional attempts to bribe us into continued "imperialism", as in Greece, but there is no prospect of another loan on acceptable terms.

JOHN MORTON

ON SHARING A HOUSE

My wife and I are sharing a house for the fourteenth time. Our pronouncements, therefore, on this method of meeting the housing shortage are worth listening to, backed as they are by a mass of observation of other people's foibles, failings and fancies. For we have shared a house in every conceivable way: we have divided it vertically and horizontally; we have merged ourselves with the other family in all departments except the bedrooms; we have lived separately, with the W.C. as our sole common ground; we have lived with relations and strangers, with the genteel and with the working-class, as tenants of the owner, as sub-tenants of the tenant, as co-tenants, as guests paying and non-paying. Our rooms have been furnished, unfurnished, and underfurnished; our fellow-occupants have included the young and the old, Northerners and Southerners, married, widowed and divorced persons, dog-lovers, dog-haters, the drunken and the sober, the retired and the active, Catholics, Methodists, Conservatives, Socialists and those dubious folk who figure in Gallup Polls under the heading "Don't know."

I make no apology for thus exhaustively recounting the details of our experience, for I wish to establish the authoritative nature of the advice which I am about to give to those who contemplate sharing a house on any basis from fifty: fifty to ninety-nine: one.

My first rule is: If possible, do not share. There is something in human nature, or perhaps in the English nature, which recoils from the notion of admitting anyone as partner in the use even of small things like saucepans. We have seen this failing developed to a morbid degree in the case of a woman who went to the length of removing some dead flowers which we had tossed into her dustbin, and placing them in ours. This person also made a point of cleaning the W.C. noisily and vigorously with brush, Harpic, and who-knows-what, every time I used it. Being an insensitive person I am not annoyed, indeed I feel rather flattered, by so sharp a response to the lingering nature of my personality; but I do appreciate the dangers that exist in the daily repression of one's natural desire for exclusive domestic rights. For notice this, that sharing a house is not communal living: one does not discover such feelings in hotels or hostels. They are peculiar to the dwelling which is built as a home, where a man feels he has the right to say, "This is mine, for me and my family." Suppression of this instinct prepares a breeding-ground for resentment which will spread to the persons, habits and opinions of one's fellow-tenants. It is better, then, to have sole possession of a pre-fab. or converted barn than to occupy two rooms in a Georgian mansion with common use of kitchen and pantry; and if you have children the strength of this argument is multiplied by ten.

If you must share, share with a working-class family. They are more generous, less intrusive, and, as a rule, cleaner than the middle-class. Such admirable traits are no doubt a product of their historical conditions: working-class aspirations have always been for a living wage and friendly relations with those others whom necessity brought into close contact, while the middle-class goes in for the kind of independence which means seclusion. You must be prepared for shocks, however, and perhaps for an assault on your refinement. I have seen a working-class father thrash his daughter with a walking-stick when she had been brought home after being discovered in the act of cuddling with a soldier. Their passions, in fact, and appetites are not obscured: there is no reticence in this respect. But this is not displeasing; middle-class people hide their passions and parade their discreditable or dirty habits. An officer's wife whom we know dries her baby's unwashed nappies in front of the fire, but there is not a working-class woman of my acquaintance who would shrink from the labour of washing them. When the choice lies between crudity and dirtiness, we prefer crudity. What seems to be an extension of this is the surprisingly prevalent disinclination for work on the part of middle-class wives: they are bad cooks and slothful cleaners. And what a high proportion of them have seen better days, or have wealthy or noble relations! The stories become so familiar and patterned—the pearls that had to be sold, the casual but so frequent reference to a titled sister-in-law, the holidays in Majorca. It almost seems that the fantasy is resorted to inevitably by people who wish to establish a distinction between themselves and others who are not afraid or ashamed of housework. The distinction, so much simpler, of being a better cook and a better housewife, is regarded as discreditable.

But it is no use being acute in your valuation of other people unless you are prepared to admit your own weaknesses. Do you think you are not suspicious? Try sharing a coal-pile and not suspecting that the other family is taking advantage of you. Are you free from greed? Try sharing a garden without taking in secret a larger share of the raspberries than is due to you. Do you boast of being tolerant? Other people's taste in wireless programmes will test you searchingly. You must be prepared to give and to give in; and, if you remain convinced that you give in too much, reflect that it is a small price to pay for harmony. Above all, plan. Make a meticulous account of expenditure, and separate every domestic function and instrument that can be separated. The only communal kitchen which I can recall where discord was absent was shared by three women. There were three gas-cookers.

We do not regret our experience of sharing. What an immense amount we have learned in the field of neighbourly behaviour, mostly by contra-suggestion. What a fund of material we have, should we decide to turn novelists. I am still using anecdotes of four years ago to pay for my entertainment. There is the Christmas dinner, long-proclaimed by our landlady, at which I sat down to the bloody and brutally ravished limb of an aged and half-cooked cockerel; the house whose atmosphere was persistently colder than the outside air, so that on December nights we used to open our bedroom window wide to admit the warm winds of Salisbury Plain; the woman who chose to sleep on the floor whenever her enormous retriever took it into his head to get into her bed; the R.A.F. officer who refused to come home to see his wife during the whole of her pregnancy; the colonel's wife and the land-girl who delighted to speak of the ordure of animals and the equality of men. These memories will illumine our old age.

But if you want my idea of hell, it is sharing, as sub-tenant, a common sitting-room with an officer's wife who hails from suburban London, has three children, does not get on with her husband, and—need I say it?—has come down in the world.

HARRY BROADBENT

The Arts and Entertainment

KEY COLOUR

In the middle of the war Mr. E. M. Forster wrote a little article about music in *The Abinger Chronicle* which has only just come my way. It raises one of music's oldest and thorniest problems: "Is there any *absolute* difference between keys—a difference that is inherent, not relative? . . . I have battered my head against this," adds Mr. Forster, "for years;" and so, as it happens, have I, coming at last to certain conclusions which may seem valid to me, but will doubtless be hotly disputed by others.

To begin with, the problem is not (as Mr. Forster modestly suggests) "one of those solemn mystifications which are erected by ignorance." Composers do have favourite keys, and they do tend to choose the same key again and again to express the same mood, even to paint the same

sort of scene. Surprising as it may seem, the same choice is often made by different composers to express similar moods, and some of them have gone so far as to claim that keys are actually related to real colours, painters' colours. But in these physical colour analogies musicians seldom see eye to eye, which is not at all surprising, since the analogy is presumably based on *two* sets of highly subjective emotional associations: thus, D flat = sombre magnificence, purple suggests sombre magnificence, therefore D flat is purple.

It is easy enough to trace, from the world of visual experience, the emotional implications of purple or green or scarlet; but where on earth are we to discover the source of the emotional associations which are so frequently attached to the various keys? Before the latter part of the eighteenth century such associations were rare. For one thing, the choice of key was limited: before the general adoption of equal temperament (for which Bach's "48" is a piece of early advocacy), keys with more than three or four accidentals were generally eschewed, because on keyboard instruments they sounded unbearably out of tune. The almost invariable use of D major by Bach and Handel for their jubilant choral movements is not a matter of emotional association: it is simply due to the fact that this is the natural key of the old *clarino* trumpet; and doubtless this circumstance also dictated the choice of the relative minor as the principal key of Bach's great *Mass*. Here already we have the first and simplest reason for the choice of one key rather than another: instrumental convenience and effectiveness. By the time we get to Mozart and Haydn the high trumpet has vanished, and the casual orchestra (roughly equal numbers of oboes, bassoons and strings, plus anything else that happened to be handy) gives way to the classical orchestra, more or less as we know it today, with its regular foundation of massed string tone.

It is at this point, or so it seems to me, that the modern sense of key-colour begins. Since strings are now the dominant element both in orchestras and chamber groups, compositions in sharp keys will tend to sound more brilliant than those in flat keys, because the open strings are always tuned to notes on the *sharp* side of C (*i.e.*, G, D, A, E) and the three strings not in contact with the bow will therefore have a tendency to sympathetic vibration whenever those notes are sounded. It is for this reason, as well as for greater ease in execution, that so many violin concertos are written in D, and only one (so far as I know) in D flat. During the nineteenth century, however, the "stringy" brilliance of the sharp keys was partially offset by the gradual incorporation into the orchestra of brass instruments whose natural keys lay mostly on the *flat* side of C (all military bands play in flat keys); from this source brilliance became associated also with the simpler flat keys (particularly with E flat); but it is brilliance of a different order, massive, processional, imposing, the sort of thing that reaches its climax in the Elgar of the Nimrod Variation and the *Second Symphony*.

So far, we are dealing with aural facts. But *in theory* all these colour considerations should concern strings and wind instruments alone; the keyboard (and unaccompanied voices) ought to have remained entirely unaffected. Common sense tells us that on the piano the chord of D flat is no less and no more brilliant than the chord of D; and yet aesthetic experience, reinforced by the practice of generations of romantic composers, insists that there is a richness, a depth, a sumptuousness and a mystery about D flat wholly lacking in the more humdrum and prosaic D. To account for this (and for many traditional characteristics of other keys which there is no space to mention) I offer three suggestions. First, composers carry over into their keyboard works the mental associations derived from writing, conducting and hearing orchestral music; in an orchestral age like the early nineteenth century, these associations can affect even an essentially keyboard composer like Chopin. Second, the existence (for whatever *primary* reason) of an impressive body of homogeneous work by a great composer in a single key (*e.g.*, by Beethoven in C minor) has a powerful and compulsive effect on subsequent composers when expressing similar moods; thus Brahms, when feeling Beethovenish, simply *drops into* C minor; indeed, it is not too much to say that C minor has never been the same since Beethoven. Third, the arbitrary fact that C major is the first key we learn in our childhood, and that it is the only key without black notes (and thus, so to speak, without stain) leads composers to associate it with strength, breadth, simplicity and daylight, and to think of the more remote keys (whether sharp or flat) as correspondingly subtle, deep, dark and mysterious—increasingly so as the number of accidentals increases. This is what Mr. Forster means when he decides that C major is the best key for *Three Blind Mice*, "straightforward, nurserified, unassuming"; it is what Browning meant by "the C major of this life"; and it is also (to take one outstanding instance) what Wagner meant in the *Meistersinger* Prelude.

All three kinds of associations can affect performers as well as composers, and listeners, too, in so far as they possess some sense of absolute pitch. (Even a listener quite without this sense would come to feel, from hearing a large number of homogeneous compositions which he knew to be in the same key, that this key must possess a sort of emotional colour.) All composers, I think, have possessed a sense of absolute pitch—Mozart to an abnormal degree; I have seen somewhere the statement that Wagner had no such sense, but his acutely developed feeling for key-colour makes me wonder how strong the evidence is for this.

I am well aware, by the way, that there are plenty of compositions in which key-colour plays, or appears to play, either a subordinate role or no role at all. I am also aware that pitch has risen by about a semitone since Mozart's day, and am not disturbed by this, since the tentative explanations I have put forward above will be found on examination to be unaffected by secular variations in pitch.

DESMOND SHAWE-TAYLOR

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MORE THAN A REVIVAL

FOR veteran spectators the performance of Massine's *Boutique Fantasque* at Covent Garden was more than a mere revival. It was a light suddenly flashing into the sealed caverns of memory, a conjuration magically resuscitating the throes and exaltations of youth. It was a night when not only did the *Boutique* live again on the stage, but also in the auditorium old attachments were renewed, old associations restored, old sympathies revived. Would this night, wondered the veterans (mustering loyally like Chelsea pensioners on Empire Day) haunt the memory of the young as the night of the original first performance still haunts the old; would they look back on it as the climax of their ballet-experience? I think they will. Massine as the can-can dancer, was the Massine of twenty-odd years ago, with perhaps even an added touch of appropriate disreputability, emphasised by Moira Shearer's rendering of her role in the can-can; for unlike her predecessors, who played up to the studied vulgarity of the male role, Miss Shearer, by her delicate and beautiful interpretation of their part, deliberately acted as a foil to her partner.

There has never been a more perfect Snob than Alexis Rassine, and Henry Legerton was a lithe and rhythmical shop-assistant. John Hart was a perhaps too peppery shop-keeper; fierce, but not with the slow, benignant ferocity of Cecchetti. He had every right to a new conception; but there seemed to be no reason for his "comic charwomen" type of make-up. The lesser parts were all well done, and the general standard of the performance was as high as that of Massine's earlier revival, the *Three Cornered Hat*.

The material with which the *Boutique* is constructed is commonplace, even hackneyed. What makes it so matchless a ballet is its flawless form. There is a perfect progression from the sleepy, casual, early morning opening to the triumphant climax of the can-can and, after the temporary diminuendo of the shop-closing, to the riotous ensembles of the finale. All these effects were triumphantly realised on the night of this memorable revival.

ARTHUR WALEY

RADIO NOTES

LIKE war, a national crisis settles many things that appear to have little to do with it. A month or two ago the B.B.C. was being trounced for not inviting more and freer discussions: now, in the past fortnight, the semi-stoppage of the weeklies has led to two of the best broadcast controversies I can recall. The personality of a weekly is—at least to some extent—that of its editor; and although most of the speakers at these sessions had broadcast before, this time they were doing so in a much more definitely editorial capacity. Only two of them emerged, as I thought, badly, in the sense that their manners affected our reception of what they had to say. Hesitation is fatal, in a case like this, for it conveys the impression that the speaker does not really know his own mind; and there is a kind of know-all sneer which cannot hope to carry conviction and is, besides, vastly offensive to listen to. Common sense, vigour, the ordinary tempo of intelligent thinking, and the tone of good-heartedness, are, I disengage, about equally important in broadcast discussion of matters which affect the life of the nation. These two programmes must not be allowed to remain exceptional: they could become, quite naturally, the basic pattern for a more copious and permanent system of political, religious and sociological discussion.

Ever since the Brains Trust became an institution, epidemics of impatience with the conduct of it have naturally recurred; and there have been quite long periods, in the not-so-distant past, when I for one have groaned in fact over the futility, the exhibitionism, the egocentric frivolity that are often displayed and are so much more annoying than the apologetic giggle, the stammered assent to the last speaker, which

betrays the Truster who—be he never so intelligent and well-informed—suffers from *esprit de l'escalier*. Last week none of these vexations was present: the team was brilliant, the questions really interesting, the replies sometimes memorable. Harold Nicolson's and Mrs. Hamilton's splendidly eloquent defences of French civilisation must have caused many a Gallophobe to hang his head. Instead of carrying away some dim idea, or an unrelated scrap or two of information, one received the same kind of concerted, organic impression as results from a fine piece of music.

I was relieved to find that the Third Programme had not lowered its brow during its sojourn in Coventry. I say this because Culture today suffers from Guilt-feelings and is all too ready, on the slightest provocation, to take a back seat. A sublime performance of the Monteverdi *Vespers* (a masterpiece if ever there was one), and Webern's posthumous *Cantata* op. 31 (a deeply interesting and delicate work, very sensibly given twice in the same programme), are reassuring evidences that the planners have not been put off their stroke. Even so, and allowing for the difficulties of the situation, I do not think that so bad a piece of mechanics as the recording of the Schubert song recital on Feb. 27th, should ever be permitted to get by. A gramophone recital would have been infinitely preferable.

EDWARD SACKVILLE WEST

SPANISH PAINTING

So long as her frontiers remain closed, Spain has little to offer us but her exiled art treasures now assembled at the National Gallery, and the Picasso-de Falla ballet at Covent Garden. The decor for *Tricorne* has faded with the years, not only in tone but in spirit, with the result that its impact on the very young cannot be as powerful as on those in whom it awakens nostalgic memories. But no English student of painting, however young, can fail to derive profit or pleasure from the still contemporary, gutteral accents of Greco, Velazquez and Goya. Spanish painting has never been well represented in this country, partly owing to our mistrust of its two finest qualities, naturalism and rudeness. The golden haze hovering over the Beit Murillos can give the unwary a false idea of this pious painter. Ribera who has an important message for 1947 if only he were permitted to deliver it, is limited to one insignificant canvas; and the stupendous night life of Zurbaran has still to work its way northwards, from Grenoble, to break upon London. With notable exceptions like the Radnor Velazquez and the Beit Goya, even the three giants of the exhibition are pale ghosts beside the Prado, in contrast to our Venetians who could fill honourably several rooms of the Accademia. Greco has become a symbol for an attitude of mind, an obscure household word like Marx which everyone repeats glibly but no one except specialists can define. If we exclude the doubtful "Agony in the Garden" (the dazzling beauty of the background blinds us to the clumsiness of the main figures), who can recall, accurately, more than four of his pictures? One of which is bound to be the uncharacteristic "Lady with the Fur," transformed by Cézanne into a parody of Greco.

However, by adding the Beit, Cook, Frere and Apsley House pictures to the National Gallery, our store of early Velazquez becomes the richest in the world. No aspect of the exhibition is so moving as the spectacle of this distilled Caravaggio, incomprehensibly delicate and assured for one so young, nicely balancing objectivity against sympathy, bestowing on an earthenware jug the same solemn veneration as on the "Immaculate Conception." In some splendid Caravaggesque Exhibition of the future—the dream of those who regard this movement as the soil in which all modern painting is planted—Velazquez, the boy actor, will play his unobtrusive, leading part.

BENEDICT NICOLSON

THE MOVIES

"Poil de Carotte," at the Academy
"Hue and Cry," at the Tivoli
"This Modern Age," No. 6 (Palestine), at the Leicester Square; No. 7 (The Coal Crisis), at Marble Arch Pavilion

Notable occasions during the lapsed fortnight have been confined to two: the revival of *Poil de Carotte* at the Academy, and the first appearance at the Tivoli of "the blood-and-thunder boys"—impudent Cockney variant of dead-end kids. One is an almost perfect translation to the screen of a minor classic, the other modest successful fun.

I am inclined to think *Poil de Carotte* the best of Duvivier's films, and that not merely because I have a special affection for the original. It revives far better than *Carnet de Bal*, for example, more designed though the latter is to sweep us off our feet. Partly this is due to absence of mannerism (nothing, except the looks of a heroine, will date a film sooner); partly also to the fact that, here, Duvivier's energies of feeling are engaged. He has, one would hazard, imaginatively a rapt but lazy mind: a dozen inconclusive pieces bear witness to the fact. *Poil de Carotte*, on the other hand, has seized the qualities of Renard's autobiographical novel and play—the tragi-comic situation of the bullied child, the incomparable family scenes, the mingling of poetry and realism—with quite remarkable understanding, and though a melodramatic tempo is introduced towards the end, that also is not seriously out of key. Poil de Carotte might well, one feels, have strung himself up in the barn; if it weren't that the head of Renard himself, precise, invincible as only the timid can be, blots out the early ragamuffin with the sardonic knowledge of forty years' solid success. But Duvivier is quite right: given the situation of a mother more terrifying than Lady Macbeth, any child might hang himself, or run away, or grow up a cringing imbecile.

The other touch that comes from Duvivier rather than from Renard is a streak of dance: again, like the rush to save Poil de Carotte from hanging, quick to the eye. The children's wedding march through the fields, with cows staring and pigs scuttling, adds a pretty decoration. Then the countryside, the family ways and obsessions, the half-dozen harshly lit characters are everywhere intimately realised. Robert Lynen's performance as Poil de Carotte—"not everyone," he complains ruefully, "can be an orphan"—remains the most versatile and moving performance any child actor has given on the screen; the tears latent in every phrase of Renard's, are made to flow. Harry Baur's phlegmatic father has his usual mastery. Our enjoyment of both these performances, alas, must be valedictory.

Exuberance has not been—until lately, anyhow—a characteristic of English films, but it's the word for *Hue and Cry*. Blood and thunder here take possession of the blitzed sites, the derelict cellars, the riverside which form the romantic young Cockney's playground: a beautifully caught townscape, mostly in the Tower Bridge region. Harmlessly (the English idea!) these youngsters get tangled with crooks, on the side of justice. Charming performances by the children. Director, Charles Crichton.

"This Modern Age" is already a serious rival to "The March of Time," on which it was modelled. If it hasn't quite the same journalistic flare, it promises to be both more enlightening and more balanced and it has (for English audiences) the huge advantage of dealing with matters that immediately concern us. Numbers 6, "Palestine," and 7, "The Coal Crisis," are very much to the point. The first, with a commentary by Mr. R. H. S. Crossman, gives a really admirable summary of its tangled problem, concise, lucid, and impartial, which puts the recent "March of Time" treatment of the same question into the shade of yellow journalism. The "Coal Crisis" starts with the fact of nationalisation and gives a frightening though hopeful view of the conditions involved. Both these short films deserve to be shown in every cinema in Britain.

WILLIAM WHITEBAIT.

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WHO KILLED COCK ROBIN?

[The American press is fully occupied burying the British Empire.—*Manchester Guardian*, March 4.]

Who killed Cock Robin?
I, said U.S.
With the whole of my press,
I killed Cock Robin.

I saw him die,
Said the *Times* of N.Y.,
O me, O my!
I saw him die.

Who caught his blood?
I, said McCormick,
It's good for my stummick,
I caught his blood.

Who'll make his shroud?
I'll finish it soon,
Said the *Herald Tribune*,
I'll make his shroud.

Who dug his grave?
I did, said Hearst,
I started it first,
I dug his grave.

Who'll be chief mourner?
His name I will vindicate
Said the Scripps Howard Syndicate,
I'll be chief mourner.

Who'll toll the bell?
I, said *P.M.*
With a full requiem,
I'll toll the bell.

Every sheet in the States
Had obituaries written,
And they filled in the dates
Of poor Great Britain.
They just filled in the dates
Of late Great Britain.

SAGITTARIUS.

Correspondence

THE GOVERNMENT, THE PUBLIC AND THE CRISIS

SIR,—The Prime Minister, on February 27th, told the House that: "The White Paper (Economic Survey of 1947) is written in simple language and I am sure the bulk of the people can read it and understand it without it being put in leaflet form." Mr. Glenvil Hall, speaking for the Government last November, claimed that the public had adequate information at its disposal in the *Monthly Digest of Statistics*, the *Board of Trade Journal*, the *Ministry of Labour Gazette* and the periodical Government statements on housing and manpower. On February 20th, Mr. Attlee was quite satisfied that nothing more could have been done to prepare the country for the impending coal shortage than the holding of a Press conference and one or two speeches in the Commons.

These lofty assumptions that the man in the street is a cross between a Cabinet Minister and a Professor of Economics are typical of the Government's approach to the problem of Public Relations. They demonstrate that appeals to the Government to "tell the people" are a waste of breath. The Cabinet lives on a diet of statistics which it finds perfectly digestible, and is genuinely unable to believe that the public are not in the same happy condition.

The circumstances of modern administration leave the rulers perpetually perambulating among the trees: they grow familiar with them and learn their names. Some of them are even able to take a walk outside and have a look at the wood. Finding themselves so at home with all the details of their task they cannot, unless they have considerable imagination, appreciate that other people are completely bewildered. Hence their utter ineptitude at making things simple, or at getting others to do this apparently unnecessary job for them.

It is this lack of imagination which is the main source of all the major weaknesses of the present Government. The inability to think into the minds of the governed causes a shrinking back from drastic measures in the erroneous belief that they would be so unpopular as to imperil the structure of the Government. Consequently, no action can be taken until there is a roar from the country demanding it.

If foreign labour is needed now, it was needed a year ago, but then there was no general insistence on it. Now there is, so the Government can follow the lead. Anyone with any sense knew that, if more miners were to be recruited, extra privileges and higher pay would have to be offered. Now that there is a deafening din from every quarter urging the Government to do something about it, they can move gingerly forward. Soon the cry for a National Wage Policy will sound so loud through the windows of Downing Street that Ministers will be convinced that they have a mandate for a plan. Any time during the next two years, enough articles will have been written advocating a central authority to supervise the economic home front for the Government to be able to experiment cautiously with the idea.

The general paralysis of unawareness also militates against efficiency. All good administrators depend to some extent for their skill on a creative imagination. That is the driving force which engenders bold decisions and persuades people that those decisions are right. Without it, in troublous times, reactions are bound to be slow, uncertain and ineffective. After February 7th, when the bad weather cut the coal pipeline, it was days before the troops were out in any numbers to clear the roads and railways, instead of being put on to the job within twenty-four hours. During the following week, thousands of men in and around my constituency were actually prevented from doing anything to help. All this is symptomatic of the earlier failure in December to take off some passenger trains so that the existing coal stocks could be distributed to the right places and the shut-down of electric power in part averted.

Because they have not yet lost a by-election the Government may be drawing the deduction that all is well with them in the country. A more likely interpretation is that the people would rather have any administration than a return to the Tories, but if its support is to be retained there must be vigorous action to encourage and sustain it. The remedy for the present deficiencies which are noted (if not always articulately) by the rank-and-file seems to lie in two directions.

First of all, there should be a Minister in charge of Information, aided by a small staff of experts, with the task of assimilating, clarifying and then driving home through every medium of public communication the simple meaning of the recurring difficulties which face the country, together with the individual action required to meet them. Secondly, a Minister must be installed with executive authority over the entire economic Home Front. Then only can the conflicting claims of the various Departments be reconciled and priorities laid down for an overall plan which can be understood and accepted.

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FILTH, MALICE AND IGNORANCE

Sir,—On account of the fact that you are not publishing your paper for reasons I don't understand because there is no legal prohibition of its publication or any legal prohibition of the electrical power needed to print it, I read for the first time for a long while some of your writing, in the article you had in the *Evening Standard*.

You say that the facts in the White Paper are not Socialist facts or Conservative facts. Of course they are Conservative facts. I said them in principle many times in the last Parliament and was abused as a reactionary for saying them. I have said them several times since on the platform.

Later you have said it will take a good time to open the thousand pits that private enterprise closed between the Wars. This of course is a filthy statement because it will lead people to believe that private enterprise closed pits for some malicious reason. The only reason a pit is closed is that it is worked out, or that the seams have become very thin, or that the coal face is so far from the surface that to employ men in it would be a waste of man-power.

It is people like you who are either ignorant or malicious, or both, who have landed us in this present mess.

HERBERT G. WILLIAMS

145 Abbey House, S.W.1.

SMOKE EMPIRE!

Sir,—Like Critic in your issue of February 15th, I lament the slopping away of the American Loan on films and tobacco. The film outlay cannot be avoided (unless we boycott films) in view of the great technical superiority of Hollywood. But with tobacco it is different. The elasticity of supply within the Empire (for dollar reasons I exclude Canada) is such that within five years we could be comfortably independent of American-grown tobacco for all time, and that without any noticeable loss of quality or increase of price. I refer to Cyprus, Nyasaland, the Rhodesias and South Africa in particular. A programme of *Smoke Empire* would meet with an enthusiastic response. It is a project which would take no more than five years to complete. And thousands of us, if officially informed that by going easy on tobacco for two and a half years it would be more than made up in the following two and a half years, would do our loyal bit.

C. R. FAY

Cambridge.

SUSPENSION OF WEEKLIES

Sir,—May I draw attention to the anomalous position in which a few national weekly newspapers, such as *The Catholic Herald*, *The Socialist Leader* and *Peace News*, have been placed by the recent restrictions?

As national weeklies, these papers were suspended, like the periodicals, during the last fortnight of February. As consumers of newsprint, they have now been reduced in size, like the dailies, for an indefinite period. They have thus got the worst of both worlds.

If newspapers in this position (which did not enjoy the hospitality of the dailies during the last fortnight of February) were permitted to make use now of the newsprint that would normally have been theirs when they were suspended, this would go far towards rectifying an accidental, but in one or two cases serious, unfairness.

Peace News.

F. A. LEA
Editor.

SEMI-FASCIST SOUTH AFRICA?

Sir,—On February 15th, in commenting on the Royal Tour of South Africa you allege "that the Government of this semi-Fascist Dominion is engaged in defying the authority of Uno either to interfere on behalf of the Indian minority in Natal or to prevent the annexation of South-West Africa."

Leaving aside the allegation that South Africa is semi-Fascist, as this is a subject which cannot be covered in the space of a brief letter, might I comment on your assumption that the South African Government is acting in defiance of Uno over the Indian issue and the future of South-West Africa?

To put the problems in a more accurate perspective, permit me to point out that General Smuts *refused* to accept an Opposition motion in favour of ignoring the United Nations over these two issues. What he did say was that the Government was not prepared to repeal the Asiatic Land Tenure and Representation of Indians Act, but that he would press on with projected improvements in Indian welfare and that he hoped that the United Nations would achieve a better understanding of the nature of South Africa's problems. In the latter connection it should not be forgotten that in New York General Smuts was denied his request that the India-South African controversy be submitted to the International Court for adjudication, although this request was accompanied by a statement that any Commission of Enquiry which the Court might decide to send out to South Africa would be welcomed and given every facility for its investigations. In the circumstances, when the Union Government was refused the elementary right of defending itself before the International Court of Justice, the organ specially established for the settlement of such international disputes, is it surprising that General Smuts should feel that the Assembly's decision was based on wrong premises and insufficient evidence?

As regards South-West Africa, General Smuts has stated that the Union will continue to administer the territory in accordance with the mandate and that he will furnish reports to the United Nations on the administration of the territory. There is no question whatsoever of the territory being incorporated or annexed in defiance of Uno's recommendation. The Union Government has decided that it cannot comply with the recommendation that South-West Africa be placed under trusteeship because it is satisfied that such a step would not be in accordance with the wishes of the population, Europeans and non-Europeans alike. There is, moreover, no obligation in the Charter to place all mandates under the Trusteeship system. Australia has not done so with the mandate of Nauru and Britain only decided to refer the problem of Palestine to the United Nations after prolonged negotiations had failed to achieve any settlement satisfactory to the inhabitants of the territory. There is no doubt under the Charter that the decision whether or not a mandated territory should be placed under trusteeship is dependent on the particular circumstances of the territory, and the responsibility for such decision rests with the administering power.

As regards conditions in the Union generally, so much of what is published in this country is based on half-truths which do not take into account the extent and diversity of our problems or the progress which we have achieved in the last ten years.

South Africa House,
Trafalgar Square,
London, W.C.2.

D. B. SOLE,
Political Secretary.

Sir,—It is perhaps important that we should be more acutely aware than we are of the realities of the situation in the Union of South Africa with regard to all relations between White and Black and basic human rights.

Two Anglican clergymen have recently been in gaol for having infringed the provision of what is popularly called the Ghetto Act. One of them, the Rev. Michael Scott, was brought before a Court again on February 13th. The charge this time was that he had contravened regulations which forbade residence in a location or native village without the permission of the Minister of Native Affairs and the concurrence of the Johannesburg State Council.

Since Scott is supposed, as an Anglican clergyman, to work among the black men, he had decided that the only proper way to do this was to live among them and he had, therefore, taken up residence in

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the Tobruk squatters' camp at Orlando. While the case was under discussion it was reported that an outbreak of smallpox in the shanty town was becoming alarming, and a discussion of the case in the Court was therefore adjourned, because it was stated that Michael Scott was needed to help deal with the situation.

When the smallpox epidemic is over, providing Scott has not fallen a victim to it, the case will be resumed and the appropriate sentence will be passed on a White man who presumes to live among the Blacks.

STANLEY EVANS

38 Barrow Hill Road,
N.W.8.

AMERICANS AND CHINA

SIR,—Like others, including myself, you were evidently misled by the rather tricky form in which the American announcement of the withdrawal of the marines from China was made. While it was obvious from the first that the Military Advisory Group in China (numbering from 2,000 to 4,000), which is training the Kuomintang armies in the use of American equipment, was not covered by the statement, it did seem that all the marines would be included. However, this is not so. As reported by *The Times* on February 8th, General Marshall stated that "there had been some confusion in the public mind concerning the marines in China and he intimated that not all of them were being withdrawn now." Thus the effect of the statement is to appear to bow to the widespread criticism of the presence of the marines in China by reducing their number, but in fact to continue the stationing of them in China for a further period. Nor is there any evidence that Marshall intends to discontinue any of the other forms of intervention in Chinese internal affairs, credits to Kuomintang, etc. Thus the "first fruits of George Marshall's policy as Secretary of State," are anything but cheering.

Nor does his report provide any sign of hope; for, while condemning "extremists in both camps," it concludes by wholeheartedly supporting the Kuomintang "Constitution" which both the Communists and the Democratic League regard as bogus. Since that "Constitution" provides a National Assembly which meets for only 90 days every six years, a President who can make war, make peace, declare martial law and rule by emergency decree without reference to anyone; and provides that civil liberties can be taken away at any time "to avert an urgent crisis, maintain social order or promote public interests" one cannot help feeling sympathy for the stand of the Democratic League and the Communists. Yet, on this crucial point, Marshall wholeheartedly supports the Kuomintang reactionaries, and declares that the "constitution" provides "the form for a democratic China." Here, there is no difference between Marshall and Vandenberg, and this is the test.

53 Springfield Road,
London, N.W.8.

ARTHUR D. CLEGG

MARRIAGE WELFARE SERVICE

SIR,—I trust you may feel able to give me a little space for a comment on your column on "Salvaging Marriages" in the issue of February 15th. I am anxious to prevent a misapprehension which might arise from it.

You say that you see "grave objections to the State's sponsoring denominational societies which offer guidance to married couples." The chief voluntary society which has been created expressly to offer this form of service to society is The Marriage Guidance Council, of which from its beginning I have been chairman. I have now great hopes that it may be sponsored and in part financed by the State. But I should not consent to that step if it were a denominational Society. It is not. It has no official relationship to any other society—neither to any church or any social organisation. The men and women who have served it and fostered it, so that now it has 120 Local Councils in England, are of no one church. Some, for aught I know, may be of no church. We have many friendly relationships with other societies, including the Catholic Marriage Advisory Council, from whom we differ definitely in one or two directions, but we are essentially an *ad hoc* Society. The principles on which our work is based have been clearly stated from the first, and have been accepted by all the Local Councils.

We have never taken any side in the controversies about divorce. We try to deal with each case on its own merits, and in doing so we are not hampered by any conviction that at all costs marriages should be kept officially in existence, even when all moral or spiritual morality has gone out of them.

Marriage problems are of many different kinds. We have dealt with over 5,000 cases at the London Centre, and have reason to know. Some, indeed, can be dealt with by doctors as such. Others call for the service of psychologists or lawyers. But there remain many which are essentially moral and spiritual in nature. Does your column seriously suggest that the services of men and women of wisdom and spiritual understanding should not be used by any nationally organised service? Many of these persons are laymen and laywomen. But most are ministers of religion. We find their help invaluable. I trust the nation will not consent to dispense with that help.

A. HERBERT GRAY,
Chairman, Marriage Guidance Council.

78 Duke Street,
Grosvenor Square, London, W.1.

MANCHESTER CORPORATION AND FILMS

SIR,—A clause in the recently passed Manchester Corporation Act will cause concern to all who desire the fullest use of films for education and cultural purposes.

This clause restrains the Corporation from permitting the use of Manchester Central Library theatre for showing any film wider than 16 mm. or lasting for more than one hour.

The effect of this clause will be to ban the use of the Central Library for the normal run of Film Society showings of historically important films; to prevent technical bodies from showing there many important technical films, such as—in the medical field—*Neuro-Psychiatry*, 68 minutes; in metallurgy—*How Steel is Made*, 90 minutes; psychology—*Personnel Selection in the British Army*, 90 minutes; and to stop the Corporation from installing 35 mm., that is, normal high-quality projection equipment even for showing films shorter than one hour. This, in a theatre designed specifically for film shows, lectures and dramatic presentations.

It is difficult to see that such a restrictive clause can benefit the Manchester citizen. Inquiries show that the clause was inserted because of pressure by film trade interests, a short-sighted policy reflecting an unreal fear of film societies' competition with the cinemas. The effect of the film society movement is to increase the general interest in film, not to steal patrons from the cinema.

This committee, which fosters the running of scientific film shows for the spreading of knowledge of science, and supports the growth of the Scientific Film Society movement, wishes to draw your attention: (*a*) to the desirability of removing this restrictive clause through the instrument of any future Manchester Corporation Bill; (*b*) to the need for vigilance throughout the country to see that such clauses are not moved elsewhere.

As a footnote, the Manchester Corporation's own recently completed film, *A City Speaks*, which is 65 minutes in length, will be banned from showing in Manchester's Central Library!

JACK CHAMBERS

Hon. Secretary,
Association of Scientific Workers. Film Committee.

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JONATHAN CAPE

BOOKS IN GENERAL

20TH century man is most clearly distinguished from his predecessors by his consciousness of history. In their study of nature, previous generations had discriminated successfully between law and legend and so laid the foundation of physical science. But in the Newtonian world, man was still conceived either as a moral being outside the sphere of natural law or as a mechanism explicable by physical formulae. Beginning on the historical side with Hegel, Marx and the Utilitarians, and on the psychological side with Freud, we have at last started to apply scientific method to the study of human relations. In so doing we are discovering—to use Toynbee's phrase—a "new intelligible field of study." History need no longer remain either a story with a moral (Plutarch) or a bogus branch of physics, chemistry and biology (Herbert Spencer) if the historian, building on the discoveries of social science, seeks to observe those uniformities through which the patterns of human behaviour can be correlated—and ultimately predicted.

To this 20th century approach the *Study of History** claims to be a contribution. Its aim, in Toynbee's words, is "to do for the civilised species of society what anthropology is doing for the primitive," to make generalisations about the genesis, growth and decay of civilisations and to enquire whether, on the basis of observed uniformities, any predictions can be made about the future of the civilisation to which we belong.

This is an ambitious project which, like the similar essays of H. G. Wells and Spengler, deserves criticism according to its own scientific standard. It is not fair to Prof. Toynbee merely to recommend his six volumes as an ideal bedside book—which they certainly are. The question which the critic must ask himself is whether the method of analysis employed is sound. For this purpose Mr. Somervell's abridgement is almost essential. It presents an unfinished original of three thousand pages in five hundred and sixty-five without sacrificing anything of the original argument. Undistracted by the fascinating *excursus* in which the full-length study abounds, and which make it as entertaining as Herodotus, the reader can concentrate his attention on the bony anatomy which, now that so much of the flesh has been cut away, projects clearly through the skin. And if the abridgement still seduces by the luminosity of its historical illustrations, he can turn to the arid twenty-page summary of its arguments with which the book concludes.

Toynbee recognises that the prime difficulty of the scientific historian is to select the "field of study." The psychologist seeks to separate the elements of individual personality; the economist to abstract economic facts from human history; the anthropologist to study the relatively static patterns of primitive society. The historian must view each civilised society as a whole. Is there, as H. G. Wells and the diffusionists believed, a single history of the rise of civilisation? Or are civilisations social plants which grow and wither away according to Spenglerian social-biological laws? Toynbee dismisses both these hypotheses:

> Primitive societies, as we know them by direct observation, may be likened to people lying thwarted upon a ledge on a mountainside, with a precipice below and a precipice above; civilisations may be likened to companions of these sleepers who have just risen to their feet and have started to climb up the face of the cliff above; while we for our part may liken ourselves to observers whose field of vision is limited to the lower slopes of the upper precipice . . . the recumbent figures cannot be paralytics in reality; for they cannot have been born on the ledge and no human muscles except their own have hoisted them to this halting place up the face of the precipice below. Their companions who are climbing at the moment have only just left this same ledge and started to climb the precipice above. . . .

What is the climber's objective? Toynbee asserts—without argument—that it is neither mastery over the environment nor peace and freedom, nor yet beauty. The mark of the creative leader he says, is "etherealisation," a mystical process of self-articulation through which he charms his fellow citizens into acceptance of his rule. The essence of civilisation, therefore, is the response of the gifted few to a spiritual challenge and the willing imitation by the many of a leadership which they can never understand. When these two factors coincide, there is growth: when the minority seeks to maintain its rule by force, decay sets in.

Throughout the book, Toynbee implicitly identifies civilisation with mystical religion. This would be an interesting hypothesis, provided that the author genuinely tried to verify it. But Toynbee never does so. He writes, like a musician, developing his motifs in a series of academic variations. Judged by any scientific or historical standard, *A Study of History* is a monstrous aberration. Its grandiose terminology and its Teutonic pretensions to scientific method are merely a stucco front to a Gothic catacomb of myth and legend. Toynbee has a medieval mind which, both fearing and despising science, condemns the pursuit of happiness and of empirical truth as unworthy of the creative mind. He displays the peculiar tastes of an English liberal, too sceptical to accept Catholicism, yet convinced that civilisation can only be saved by the re-creation of an oecumenical church; too modern to deny the validity of scientific method, but too much steeped in Aristotelian logic to apply it.

Mr. Somervell justly claims that his abridgement is not dull. Indeed it retains all the allusive flavour of the original, its unique mixture of exquisitely precise writing—in such passages as the descriptions of American negro culture and of the Platonic republic of the Osmanlis—and of most imprecise thought when he slides crab-like through a series of superimposed analogies from a tautological major premise to an outrageous conclusion.

It is instructive to observe the various forms of faulty logic which Toynbee employs. The commonest is the use of words with a fairly clear definition—civilisation, proletariat or decay, for instance—in a series of shaded meanings. Or, again, a general law is enunciated on the basis of one well-known fact. Toynbee generalises, for instance, that creative leaders "withdraw" to return with renewed spiritual power. This "law" is based on the life of Jesus. A good many pages later we find that Machiavelli is taken as a further verification! But the argument is not finished. Britain, we learn, "withdrew" from Western Christendom to return with the creative ideas of democracy and industrialism. Q.E.D.! Or again, the rhythm of disintegration of Hellenic society between 431 B.C. and the fall of Rome was "three and a half beats," asserts Prof. Toynbee. And in a jiffy he has found a similar rhythm in all of his twenty-one civilisations.

Toynbee delights in the circular argument. Confuting the claim that civilisations rise in easy environments, he argues that the Nile valley was really a difficult jungle when man first went to live there. Egyptian society grew out of a successful response to the challenge of the desiccation of the desert. He finds rough parallels in Mesopotamia and in China, where civilisation also began in difficult valleys. Then he correctly points out that too great a challenge may produce ossification—for instance, the Eskimos—or collapse, for instance Petra. So he concludes, as a good Aristotelian, that civilisation demands neither an excess nor a defect of challenge, but just the right amount. The result of this argument is: (a) that a civilisation arises from a challenge and (b) that a challenge is that from which civilisation arises. The erudite circle is complete.

An even more disconcerting habit is the adaptation of fact to theory. Toynbee selects Athenian civilisation to demonstrate his theory that the right amount of necessity is the mother of true invention. He concludes his proof with this assertion:

> The extinction of the Attic forests compelled Athenian architects to translate their work from the medium of timber to that of stone and so led to the creation of the Parthenon.

What evidence is there that the Attic forests were extinct when the Parthenon was built? None. What was the Athenian Navy built of? Wood. The truth is that not necessity, but Pentelicon marble, was the mother of Athenian architecture. The law is false and the verification wrong. Or again, Toynbee states as a law that a growing society is peace-loving, a decaying society self-assertive. He verifies this law by the assertion:

> Thus on all the fringes of the Hellenic world in its growth stage we seem to see the gracious figure of Orpheus casting his spell upon the barbarians round about. . . . This idyllic picture vanishes in a trice, however, upon the Hellenic civilisation's breakdown.

A cursory glance through the pages of any history shows that this is pure myth. The early Greek colonists fought the barbarians, and long before the breakdown, which Toynbee dates in 431 B.C., the Athenians sought to conquer an empire.

Are we, then, to dismiss the *Study of History* as an English imitation of German pseudo-science? So far as the superstructure is concerned, the answer is certainly, yes. There is nothing novel which is not faulty in the method of inquiry; and it would have been more readable and less pretentious if it had been written as a continuous history of the origins of our present spiritual crisis. On this topic Toynbee speaks with originality and consistency.

Western civilisation, he believes, is not essentially a matter of science or technology: its true greatness is exemplified in the *Respublicana Christiana* of Hildebrand and the institutions of the Italian city states. It can only be saved from destruction if we re-create similar institutions on a world scale, avoiding the sterile anarchy of nation states and the equally sterile universal state which results from the imposition of its will by a single nation on conquered rivals. With the vision of Kant, he looks forward to a *concordia* of peaceful societies, but he believes that this cannot be achieved without the restoration of Papal authority:

> At this hour of decision at which we now live it is meet and right that all men and women in the Western world who "have been baptised into Christ" as "heirs according to the promise," and with us all the Gentiles who have become "partakers" the "promise" and "fellow heirs of the same body" through the adoption of our Western way of life, should call upon the Vicar of Christ to vindicate his tremendous title . . . to the Apostle at Rome our forefathers committed the destiny of Western Christendom, which was the whole of their treasure. . . The punishment for the hubris of the servant has been visited upon us; and it is for him who brought us to this pass to deliver us from it, whosoever we may be: Catholics or Protestants, believers or unbelievers.

This passage gives the clue to the whole study, to its strange presumption that Aristotelian definitions are scientific, and its poignant belief that truth is found not by observation of facts, but by meditation on the symbolism of legend, myth and allegory. Toynbee is a secular Thomist who revolts in horror from the devastating results of the attempt of modern men to "live like Gods." He rejects the free man's faith in his own reason as presumptuous; and he dismisses as "ephemeral" man-made peace even if it endured for many centuries in China, Egypt and the Roman Empire. God alone, he concludes, can save—through his chosen instrument, the Vatican. A Study of History has a certain historical importance. Science still has sufficient prestige for an academic to assume its trappings in order to challenge its postulates. But it is a melancholy reflection on our age that one of Britain's leading historians should have so far lost faith in the values of our civilisation that he must hope for a revival of myths and legends in which he himself cannot believe and of an ecclesiastical authority from whose shackles science and democracy have sought to liberate the mind of man.

R. H. S. CROSSMAN

**Study of History.* By ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE. Abridgement of Vols. I-VI by D. C. Somervell. *Oxford University Press*, 25s.

TORY REFORMER

Charles Kingsley and His Ideas. By GUY KENDALL. *Hutchinson.* 21s.

Charles Kingsley was an unattractive character, self-opinionated, Philistine and arrogantly thick-headed. He delivered himself upon subjects about which he knew nothing; he was often ungenerous towards people; he glorified war and the massacres of natives; he worshipped manly courage and displayed plenty himself during the days of Chartism and the cholera, but his sensitive ego could not endure unpopularity, and he retired with a nervous breakdown at the crises in his life. He lashed out unsparingly and was hurt when his opponents hit back. And yet he deserves the sympathetic treatment which he has received at the hands of Mr. Kendall. Together with Ludlow and Maurice he forced the Church of England at long last to recognise that the poor were of her flock and that she had social duties; and he realised that so grave had been her neglect that it was necessary "to justify God to the people." It was he who first admitted that religion could be the opium of the masses. *Yeast* is an important social document. He played his part in making England a healthier country. He set a new standard for country parsons and his simple sermons changed the style of rural preaching which had been dominated by the theological discourses of divines like Julius Hare. He gave Victorian children three readable books. He was an enthusiastic, though ignorant, champion of science and was one of the few prominent clergymen who supported Darwin. "My friend, God's orthodoxy is truth; if Darwin speaks the truth, he is orthodox." And he was willing to be a friend of Huxley because he felt that Huxley cared about the truth. Indeed, he created one wing of the Broad Church. It was not the critical school of Thirlwall and Jowett; Kingsley did not care for tampering with the texts. His was the wing which believed that they should be liberally interpreted. Maurice was the master, Kingsley the popular voice of the movement. However unsatisfactory the tergiversations and illogicalities of this school of thought may seem to the Agnostic, the High Churchman or the Roman Catholic, it is a solution which many ordinary Englishmen by the end of the century came to find agreeable. It was, in fact, the kind of theology of which Queen Victoria approved.

Kingsley, therefore, because, rather than in spite, of his contradictions, is a remarkable mirror of the conflicting ideas in the mind of the thoughtful Christian of the mid-nineteenth century. Mr. Kendall, however, does not do justice to his theme. Far too little of the background to the disputes in Kingsley's life is given, and what is vouchsafed is sometimes questionable. (The reforms which Chartism advocated were *not* socialistic in nature; and can Wilberforce be described as an unprejudiced member of a tribunal set up to decide whether a book was orthodox or not?) Mr. Kendall has naturally consulted Miss Thorpe's biography, but it is unfortunate that he was unable to attack the considerable quantity of unpublished material relating to Kingsley owing to the difficulties of the war years. It is even more unfortunate that he has fallen into the snare which awaits the biographer of the illogical. For Kingsley, who was not a powerful thinker but blazed off, whenever he got excited, to relieve his emotions, falls into all sorts of logical absurdities. To account for this his biographer suggests that he must have changed his views. Why, he asks, did Kingsley drop Chartism and Co-operation? Surely because, he answers, his views changed. They never did. Kingsley remained throughout his life what he had always been: a Tory who believed in the worth and supremacy of the aristocracy and gentlemen, and who deeply desired to better the lot of the working classes. He remained, in a sense, a Chartist all his life, though he never really believed in universal suffrage, holding, as he did about the Co-operative Associations, that the working class was not yet fit for it. But, unlike Tom Hughes, he was unwilling after the failure of the Associations to continue the struggle. He was not oblivious of the pleasures of preferment and the obloquy incurred during the days of Chartism preyed on his nerves. But the most compelling reason was that he had no sympathy for trade unionism and the economic weapon of the strike. "Emigrate, but never strike," was his advice to trade unionists. Like many Victorians, he saw in popular education the best chance of the regeneration of the working classes, and the solution of social evils in the spiritual awakening of all classes, including his own. Kingsley left politics when he saw that methods other than his would be adopted. Even if he often did make statements which were logically irreconcilable, he need not necessarily have changed his ideas. It is perfectly possible for a man to hold simultaneously two or more contradictory views, like Rousseau. Kingsley's ideas remain the same: what is interesting is why he never saw the need to reconcile them.

In many cases the biographer is wise to let his subject speak for him. But one would be glad, in the case of Kingsley, to hear the author's voice speak with more authority through the whirlwind. The canvas of this biography should have been both broader and tauter. What were the fruits of Kingsley's Protestantism? Did not his ideas of social reform powerfully affect the Ritualists and did not muscular Christianity recruit missionaries for the Evangelicals? Perhaps guidance is most painfully lacking in the chapter devoted to Newman's *Apologia*, in which the same old documents are re-examined. We all know now what Dr. Newman meant; but what did Kingsley mean? Whatever it was, Kingsley was quite incapable of putting it into words. For the dispute was far deeper than the conflict of ideas expressed in *Hypatia* and *Callista*. Through the traditional style of abuse in which Kingsley indulged, can be seen the form of the Protestant, and indeed the Rationalist, case against Catholicism. It was not just a theological difference, but a dispute about the meaning of truth. Why did Huxley say that Kingsley was entirely right and that he could easily compile a Primer of Infidelity from Newman's works? The bitterness which characterised, not only Kingsley's, but Huxley's and Leslie Stephen's, attacks, was caused by the fact that they thought that Newman, though a saintly man, was incapable of distinguishing truth from falsehood. To them the *Grammar of Assent* and *The Idea of a University* were full of flagrant equivocations. Was this because Englishmen condemn subtlety in argument as casuistry? Or was Kingsley really right after all? If a defence of Kingsley is to be made, it should not be an attempt to mitigate his boorishness and obtuseness—or, indeed, his dishonesty, particularly blatant in the introduction to the *Saint's Tragedy*. It should set out the rediscovered grounds of conflict between the two religions: the grounds on which Dr. Coulton has fought many a battle. This is a book about ideas; and the ideas of a man, so caught up in the major issues of the century, do not shine with their full brilliance unless they are given an adequate setting.

NOEL ANNAN

HENRY JAMES

Fourteen Stories by Henry James. Selected by DAVID GARNETT. *Rupert Hart-Davies.* 15s.

Since the early years of the late war the Macmillan edition of Henry James's works has been out of print; second-hand copies are very scarce; and original editions of his books are still more difficult to come by. To republish a complete edition now would no doubt be too heavy a burden for any publisher to shoulder; yet the demand for one is considerable, because James is at last coming into his own. Meanwhile, a volume of selections is much better than nothing. The present anthology of stories strikes me as occasionally rather curious, although Mr. Garnett's introduction goes some way towards explaining the eccentricity. I believe he is entirely right in his assertion that James's novels are intrinsically superior to his *nouvelles*, because his imagination needed space to deploy itself. That being so, Mr. Garnett was placed at a disadvantage by his present task, since the need to cover James's whole writing career narrowed his field of choice to exclude even those longer stories (e.g. *The Spoils of Poynton* and *The Aspern Papers*) which are agreed to count among the author's happiest inspirations. Probably no critic who was thoroughly versed in Henry James would have hesitated over *The Pupil*, *The Real Thing*, *The Jolly Corner*, *The Beast in the Jungle*. As a benevolent counterpart to *The Turn of the Screw*, *The Pupil* is one of James's most deeply felt inventions; while *The Real Thing* calls out all his humorous perception of the anomalies inherent in the manners of the Edwardian rich. The last two stories tap a much deeper source in James's vision of life and are, besides, capital for an understanding of the conflicts which underlay the enigma of his own personality.

So far no one can have any quarrel with Mr. Garnett; but when it comes to representing James—in five out of the fourteen examples chosen—as predominantly an inventor of "ghost" stories, I think we are entitled to protest. I put ghost in inverted commas because James was very apt, in these fantasies, to reduce the living to the status of ghosts. This was a quality of his perception of human beings, and at its best—in *The Sacred Fount* or *The Beast in the Jungle*—the result is as real a contribution to literary art as the tales of Poe and Hawthorne which possibly suggested it. But in moments of lesser intensity the procedure lands James in a mere *jeu d'esprit*. What else are we to make of *Sir Edmund Orme*, of *The Private Life* (despite one magnificently sinister page), of *Maud-Evelyn?* Indeed the last named seems to me a parody of James at his worst—as a mind on occasion alienated from what living people think and do, and frivolously inventing an improbably foolish embroglio just in order to see how it will work out. The result is bad art and as criticism of life nearly worthless. If the characters had some poetic or symbolic value, the *tour de force* might have been justified; but, as Mr. Garnett justly points out, James's characters are "ordinary" people, and when they are manipulated in this perverse fashion they lose every kind of reality. By sacrificing this insignificant joke, and the equally trivial (as well as derivative) *Peste*, Mr. Garnett might have included *Lord Beaupré* (1893), one of the best examples of the kind of plot that gave James full scope for his most characteristic flights of subtlety; and possibly *John Delavoy* (1900), one of the best of the tales about writers and writing—a theme which always put James on his mettle.

In fairness to Mr. Garnett I must add that many readers will probably prefer his view to that expressed here. No selection—especially from so large a field—can please everybody, and this one contains nothing that is dull or (save for the dreadful *Maud-Evelyn*) obviously inferior.

The volume, which is the first to issue from a new publisher, is admirably printed; the paper good, by present-day standards; and the format particularly agreeable to look at and pleasant to hold.

PAUL DOMBEY

BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY

Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919-1939. Edited by E. L. WOODWARD and ROHAN BUTLER. Second Series. Vol. I. *Stationery Office.* 21s.

The 1914-1918 war established a useful precedent that after a great war Foreign Offices should yield up to the public some of their secrets in the form of the documents which dealt with high policy prior to the war. The selection of documents was not always entirely untendentious, the object being sometimes to prove that "please, Sir, it was the other fellow," and sometimes even to stick a knife into a particular Government or class. On the whole, the result was salutary and extremely valuable to the historian. The opening of the archives is going to be still more thorough after Hitler's war, and the dirty linen of foreign politics is going to be drastically washed in

public. The process began on an unprecedented scale at Nuremberg. It is continued much less sensationally in the volume under review. It will appeal to the historian and expert rather than to the ordinary reader.

The decision to publish documents relating to British policy between the wars was made by the Government in March, 1944, and the work was entrusted to Professor Woodward and Mr. Butler. In order to avoid delay, the editors decided to divide the collection into two series which will be published at the same time; the first series will deal with the period from the signature of the Versailles Treaty to 1930, the second with the period from 1930 to 1939. This first volume to be published is divided into six chapters, but its material is really concerned with three subjects. The first is naval disarmament, the second Briand's proposal for European Federal Union, and the third the relations with Germany between March, 1930, and March, 1931, a period which covered Brüning's Government up to the proposal for an Austro-German Customs Union.

The documents are of considerable interest to the student and the historian, but it cannot be said that they throw new light of a very important nature on policy during the period. The most interesting documents are to be found in the chapters dealing with naval disarmament and in Sir H. Rumbold's dispatches from Berlin describing the political situation in Germany under Brüning's Government. The four chapters about naval disarmament cover the London Naval Conference of 1930, the preliminary negotiations with the U.S.A., and the subsequent attempts to obtain an agreement between France and Italy. They show the extraordinary difficulty of getting agreement between Great Powers for mutual reduction of armaments, even when, as in the case of the U.S.A. and Britain in 1930, the two Governments were not hostile or really suspicious, and were genuinely eager for agreement. One of the perpetual snags is the naval officer of whose opposition and propaganda the statesman is peculiarly nervous. The negotiators on both sides are in fact or implicitly often asking each other to help them appease or circumvent their own Admiralties. Another fact which strikes the reader, looking back after 17 years, is the unreality of nearly all the considerations which weighed with the negotiating statesmen. The seizure of power by Hitler in Germany was only three years off, and the war with Hitler was to break out six years later, but only the French statesmen ever considered naval armaments in relation to Germany. Yet the nationalist revival or reaction had already begun in Germany, and she was already building her pocket-battleships. The able reports of Sir Horace Rumbold, which are printed in the last section of the volume, show how dangerous the position in Germany was after the Nazis had won over 100 seats in the 1930 election. It is interesting to note that the Prussian Secretary of State told Rumbold that he believed the Nazis to have been financed by the Soviet Government, but that Rumbold, whose judgment is consistently good, reports that in his opinion this is not the case and that the Nazis were financed by German industrialists.

LEONARD WOOLF

CHILD ANALYSIS

The Psycho-Analytic Treatment of Children. By ANNA FREUD. *Imago Publishing Co.* 10s. 6d.

If Freud was right and neuroses are determined largely by the patient's experiences in childhood, then surely it might save a lot of misery if children could be treated while they were still children and did not have to wait till they were grown up. It is many years since psycho-analysts came to this conclusion and tried to adapt their methods accordingly.

Obviously a child cannot be expected just to lie on a sofa and report the ideas that pass through his mind. He may not have enough command of language, he has often not the motive which the adult has—the hope of getting relief from his symptoms—and, according to Miss Freud, too, he does not develop a "transference neurosis."

Different techniques are probably most suitable at different ages, but to meet many of the difficulties which children present a technique of "play therapy" was devised long ago and has since been developed—notably by Mrs. Klein. But the question arises how far a child's thoughts expressed in scribbled drawings, in playing with toy figures representing people, animals, houses, motor cars and so on, or in manipulating water, sand or Plasticine, can be considered as equivalent to the adult's thoughts expressed in speech and gesture?

Mrs. Klein, who has a considerable following in this country, thinks they are equivalent; Miss Freud, whose book has at last been published in England, takes another view. Miss Freud holds that the justification for ascribing an unconscious as well as a conscious meaning to the free associations of an adult depends on the fact that he has come for treatment in order to get rid of unpleasant symptoms, and this condition does not hold good for a child. But this view seems hardly tenable if she holds, as presumably she does, that all thoughts and all behaviour have their unconscious meanings. They may be of less importance in some cases than in others, and great insight may be needed to realise just what it does mean to a child when he smashes up a toy house or draws a picture of a battleship, but it does not follow that to do so is impossible. Great insight may be needed to give the right interpretations to an adult, but Miss Freud would surely not argue that it was impossible in this case.

A more important divergence of views concerns the "transference." As is well known, during the analysis of a grown-up, the analyst finds that the patient attributes to him all sorts of characteristics which turn out to be based on the picture which the patient formed when a child of his parents and other important figures. According to Professor Freud, children, round about the age of four or five, set up in themselves as it were a copy of their parents. This copy stands somewhat apart from the rest of the personality praising it or blaming it, offering love or threatening punishment. Freud calls this the "super-ego," and it corresponds to what is often called "conscience," but differs from it in being to a great extent below the level of consciousness. This super-ego, or different aspects of it, are in later life "projected" on to people in the outside world, and the "transference" in analysis is only one example of such a projection. As analysis proceeds, however, a "transference neurosis" takes the place of the original neurosis, the symptoms of which disappear and give way to new symptoms which centre round the analyst. It is the transference neurosis which provides the emotional energy that makes it possible to help the patient to reorient his attitude to life.

Miss Freud holds that with children the transference neurosis does not occur. There are, no doubt, transference manifestations of an unstable kind, but, while the original parents are still alive, she holds that there is no need for a second edition. She draws the rational conclusion, therefore, that the analyst must co-operate far more closely with the child's parents than would be possible in an ordinary analysis. This means both that she must enter to some extent into the child's home life and that she is limited to working with the children of psycho-analytically minded parents. Her business is not only to make the child aware of his own unconscious motive, but, in co-operation with the real parents, she much teach him how to manage them. If she tries to stand on her own feet, or rather on the

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feet lent her by the transference, then as soon as the child goes back to the old surroundings he will relapse into his old ways.

So there are two chief planes of cleavage between the two sets of views. To devise objective tests to show which technique is the more effective is, at present, extremely difficult, if not impossible. But besides the difference between the techniques there is the difference between the views based on practical experience. Here Miss Freud has one undoubted advantage. She uses a language which can be understood by all analysts without difficulty. Mrs. Klein, on the other hand, is impeded by a style and a terminology which are not clear to most analysts. She is hard to understand, but if she has made new discoveries of importance there is no cause for complaint even if she has not yet found the most lucid form of expression.

Mrs. Klein, for instance, would hold that children form a "super-ego"—often of a very severe kind—well within the first year of life, that it corresponds with the child's view of reality at that period, and that it is out of this that the later super-ego develops. She would claim, too, that she can work with it in the same way as she can work with the super-ego of a grown-up.

Until more decisive tests are devised than exist at present, the best that can be done is for the adherents of both points of view to try to understand one another and to compare each other's findings with their own, and to state their own views and the grounds for them as clearly as may be. If it were for these reasons alone, everyone interested in the subject should heartily welcome Miss Freud's new publication.

ADRIAN STEPHEN

POST-REFORMATION SCULPTURE

English Church Monuments, 1510-1840. By KATHERINE A. ESDAILE. With an Introduction by Sacheverell Sitwell. *Batsford.* 21*s.*

Though the Victoria County History and several less-imposing works will probably have described all the arch-mouldings and details of window-tracery in a rustic church, an enormous baroque monument that lurks where it was imprisoned by Victorian restorers under the tower, with step-ladders and cleaners' mops leaning against it, will very likely not be mentioned in print at all. Or it may be referred to as "hideous," or "costly," or as "a reminder of the egregious taste of a former age." If we want to find what brasses, or wooden effigies, or stone effigies, or alabaster effigies of a date before 1700, we shall be passing near on any English journey, we can do so by looking at some books in a library; whereas if the date is after 1700—well, the answer is "consult Mrs. Esdaile," and if she does not tell us we probably shall never know, unless we visit every church. In her preface to her new book, she "gratefully acknowledges the immense change in public opinion in the last twenty years," justifiably hinting that to a large extent she is personally responsible for it. But she knows, after more than these twenty years of hard work on the subject, that "there are hundreds, probably thousands, of monuments still uncharted, and till everything is on record we shall not realise the full greatness of the English achievement in a field as yet too little recognised."

I remember the eagerness with which I pounced on two articles of hers in *Drawing and Design* in 1926, and then, a year later, on her *English Monumental Sculpture Since the Renaissance.* Since then she has published another short book, and several monographs and papers; and all of these call for collection, revision and a vast amount of addition. She has promised, and still promises—"when conditions admit of the publication"—a *Dictionary of English Sculptors,* and it is understandable that meanwhile she should have wanted to publish the present book. But it is by no means the book we have been waiting for. It is designed as a "popular" book, and it will encourage interest. But Mrs. Esdaile is not a "popular" writer. One might as well expect a good "popular" book from Prof. Tansley on "The Vegetation of the British Islands," or a good holiday-haunts guide from Mr. Steers, the recent scholarly author of *The Coastline of England and Wales.* The arrangement of the text is neither chronological nor topographical, and we are all over the place, all the time, among musicians' and actors' monuments, children, curls, *Jane Eyre,* prices, emblems and imagery, heraldry and social influences. The subject is not ready for this treatment, and as for readability, if this is "popular" writing, give us scholarship every time!

I have often enough come upon thrilling monuments in country churches which I should never have seen but for some hint in one of Mrs. Esdaile's publications. I am, therefore, a partly grateful grumbler when I record that some of the most thrilling—Croome d'Abitot, Yarnton, Ockham, Edenham and many more—are not illustrated here at all. It is true that the wonderful Furnese monument at Waldershare is not photographable, but why is there nothing at all by Scheemakers the elder (to whom Mr. Sitwell does honour in his long introduction), why is Rysbrack only represented by a detail from a relief, and Roubiliac only by one photograph that is not even up to the standard of the local postcard? Some of the many illustrations are magnificent, and together they do produce an effect of richness. But, after all, it would be difficult not to do that. The choice looks whimsical, and the captions are not all accurate. (The monument in plate 127, for instance, is not at Ditchley, but Spelsbury.)

Mrs. Esdaile can, and must, and I hope soon will, produce the *Dictionary of English Sculptors.* Meanwhile, I for one shall continue to use her past works, making my own manuscript notes and additions to them, looking at this new book mostly for its pictures.

JOHN PIPER

NEW NOVELS

The Romance of Casanova. By RICHARD ALDINGTON. *Heinemann.* 9*s.* 6*d.*
Mexican Village. By JOSEPHINA NIGGLI. *Sampson Low.* 10*s.* 6*d.*
Wildwood. By J. JOHNSON. *Gollancz.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

In an era of standardised houses, food, and motor-cars it is not surprising that week by week we should be given standardised entertainment. Already there is something of the awful uniformity of Huxley's "feelies" in most of the novels which are turned out from the assembly lines each week; true, they are competent, slick, neatly dove-tailed pieces of work—but commodities more than literature. The Henry Fords of the novel world regularly turn out their spruce, shiny, comfortable family models—the people's novel.

Mr. Richard Aldington, for instance, is showing signs of starting a small factory of his own. *The Romance of Casanova* is saved from the worst by excellent craftmanship, but for all that it is standardised enough, and, worse, predigested. There is nothing to stimulate thought. There was a time—in *Death of a Hero* and *All Men are Enemies*—when Mr. Aldington wrote brilliantly well. Behind his words there was always a passionate indignation, and a sharp bitterness which gave his characters significance; in fact his characters were more real than reality because they hadn't the vague diffusion, the wishy-washyness of people one meets in the street. But this new *Casanova* should have been called *Casanova Without Tears* or *Casanova for the Million*; as he goes from gondola to gondola, from escapade to escapade,

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from house to house, and from woman to woman, mouthing flowery phrases, staking everything (even common sense) on a worthless signorina, he seems made of cardboard. His joints creak and he is always on a superficial level; never does he become, never does Mr. Aldington make us believe in, the extraordinary personality Casanova must have had, the flights of intuition, the understanding of the psychology of women and the "meaning" of life which is so evident in his *Mémoires*.

Where are Casanova's huge efforts to break the bonds of his own personality; the deep-rooted loneliness which no woman could obliterate or even enter; the over-developed perceptions which made Casanova see further than other people and made the small satisfactions of the partially developed an intolerable burden to him, and which drove him away, beyond the ordinary confines of life, to find ultimate self-expression not in love but in writing?

Mexican Village is not standardised, but the characters take my breath away. The book opens with a carefully compiled list of over a hundred personages who move through nearly five hundred pages. One is reminded of the credit titles of a monster, mean, moody and magnificent film. Miss Niggli, however, writes with clarity and handles her huge panorama in a way that calls for respectful admiration. Apart from the *clichés* that are peppered over the pages—such as "slender column of her neck"—the novel is sound. The underlying note is human isolation; the main character, Bob Webster, is wrapped in loneliness as though in an overcoat:

> During the war in France, he thought, it had been different. Under the guns there are no strangers and yet there are no friends. Under the guns a man feels completely alone, completely shut off from all other men. But each man in his loneliness receives the comradeship of loneliness from those about him, so that he does not feel lost in a great void.

Unfortunately, Miss Niggli abandons this theme after a while. It is as if she suddenly became obsessed with the idea of putting *everything* she could into the novel. In fact, Bob Webster is merely an excuse for presenting a Mexican village with all its superstitions, customs, festivals, bull-fighting—very much as a traveller would see it.

Wildwood is more of a long short story than a novel (the publishers carefully avoid calling it anything but a "work"); it is an American story of considerable power and force. As in *Mexican Village*, the theme is loneliness, but loneliness of a very different sort, the loneliness of a young girl adopted by two pious and well-meaning people who have little understanding of human nature, so that Edith's adoption becomes a torture in a prison of kindness, responsibility, and exaggerated conventions. The unnatural life at Wildwood with two people who, for all their preoccupation with the spirit, are spiritually dead, forces Edith into the waste-land of herself. And what a waste-land:

> She had no comparative standard of values, no way of judging anything beyond the immediate effect. She lived minutely from agony to agony, having neither the wisdom nor the experience to measure its proportion. It was not exactly that she had no sense of humour; it was only that it seemed strangely sinful to laugh at herself. If she found herself ridiculous, the universe might suddenly become a bawdy farce, an uproarous comedy whose fitting end was death.

Personally I find Edith both exasperating and characterless.

Miss Johnson's fault is that she pitches the sad mood of the book too consistently; it is altogether too uniform—stifling, in fact. And the characters do not develop. The Pierre couple die, as they began in the book, with much the same thoughts in their heads, almost the same words on their lips; likewise Edith goes round and round, but never forward. *Wildwood*, otherwise, has qualities that the standardised products seldom possess—something to say, potent imagery, intelligence and design.

ROBIN KING

The Penguin Music Magazine. Edited by RALPH HILL. No. 1. *Penguin Books.* 1s.

In the matter of periodicals the new music public is poorly served; indeed, it would be truer to say that it is not served at all. There are the two "learned" five-shilling quarterlies, and there are a number of monthlies, all somewhat sectional or professional in scope and some little more than house journals. No organisation could be better fitted to fill the obvious gap than the firm of Penguin Books, and it is to be hoped that, when paper restrictions are removed, their new *Music Magazine* may be able to appear as a monthly. The first number contains a varied assortment of articles, ranging from chit-chat about musical personalities to Professor Dent on the future of opera in England; it also includes a photographic section, and runs to 127 pages, so that the reader gets plenty for his money. The provincial reports are good, those on other countries uneven: Mr. Lockspeiser helps us to see the situation through French eyes, but Mr. Alan Bush taps out a bleak statistical White Paper about Soviet music, interspersed with the standard ejaculations about Fascism, but not humanised by a single expression of personal like or dislike. It's really useless to discuss music as though it were a bulk commodity, like coal or buttons. All the same, these foreign commentaries are a desirable feature which the editor would do well to enlarge in future numbers. He might also ask himself whether the effect of reading so many pages of fluent generalisation on end is really satisfactory, and consider embarking on two or three series of simple expository articles about past and present masterpieces, together with sound advice about the available recordings of each: the sort of thing which would do for our new public what Sir George Grove's *Beethoven and his Nine Symphonies* did for the new public of the 'nineties.

Week-end Competitions

No. 888

Set by Naomi Lewis

Competitors are asked to imagine that the NEW STATESMAN is returning the hospitality offered by different newspapers during the fuel crisis. The usual prizes are offered for an extract from a guest feature, written with an eye to NEW STATESMAN readers (limit 200 words): on fashion, sport, health, human problems and gossip column. Entries by March 18.

RESULT OF COMPETITION No. 885

Set by V. S. Pritchett

The usual prizes are offered for five new Proverbs of Heaven and Hell.

Report by V. S. Pritchett

I set this competition for five new proverbs of Heaven and Hell with Blake half in mind. Since then I have become a naturalised Icelander and no longer believe that Hell is as hot as L. E. J. suggests: "It takes more than a Shinwell to empty Hell's bunkers." And, anyway, does it? After a long run of commendation from Shaw onwards, Hell is beginning to lose its genial reputation. "The Evil man says there is no Hell," thunders Wm. Bliss. "In Heaven they may bore you; in Hell you will bore them," says L. G. Udall. "Materialists don't escape Hell; they anticipate it," says R. S. Jaffray. Those are the voices of our time. Leslie Johnson perturbed me most with: "We may make our own Hells, but we let others make our Heavens." C. J. Galpin hit off my own opinion with: "Heaven and Hell are the condiments of religion: it is polite to take a little more of them than you can swallow." I lament that

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"the story of Hell is a best-seller in Heaven," also the disastrous theory that while "Hell is off the rations, Heaven is on points"—for how many can one spare? The best definition? "Heaven encourages; Hell inspects." I divide the prize of six guineas evenly between the pious and the cynics: Terence Melican, Ethel Talbot Scheffauer, C. J. Galpin, and L. E. J.

RESULT OF COMPETITION No. 886

Set by "Tommy"

The usual prizes are offered for an imitation of the daily extract "From *The Times* of 1847" in the light of current events. Limited to 150 words, including footnote (if any).

Report by "Tommy"

Amusing application of the imaginary extract to the cold weather has been made by many competitors. These have imitated the Leading article, Parliamentary report, news paragraph, Letters to the Editor, and advertisements. The technique of the "footnote" has been most skilfully used by L. E. J., who gets a first prize of £3 3s. The best of a number of Letters to the Editor is written by W. H. Victory, on behalf of the Candle-Makers' Guild—a disinterested body disturbed by excessive enthusiasm over the new-fangled gas-lighting. (I am giving credit for a deliberate misprint in the first line.) He gets the second prize of a guinea and a half. A third prize of a guinea and a half goes to "Fergie" for a burlesque on the attractions of popular science.

Two other contributions to which I give honourable mention and fourth and fifth place are from Roland Bibby and Peter Alexander.

FROM "THE TIMES" OF 1847.

At Middlesex Petty Sessions, John Carter pleaded guilty to stealing a scuttle of coal, and was sent to prison for six months. The prisoner was employed in the household of Lord B——, and stated that he carried upstairs over forty scuttles of coal daily. He begged for leniency on the ground that his family was without fire, and blamed the present severe weather for his crime. The magistrate, in sentencing him, said the severity of the weather aggravated, not mitigated, the offence. The shortage of coal was a peculiar hardship in great houses. The prisoner had shown little consideration for his employer.

***This report drew a letter from Miss Harriet Martineau, pointing out how the magistrate's remarks illustrated the principle that scarcity enhances value. "A clergyman" also wrote to say that the lower orders seemed unaware of the use of hard exercise for maintaining the circulation when fuel was scarce.

L. E. J.

SIR,—It is with grave misapprehension that I observe the present tendency to go into extravagant flights of enthusiasm over the new-fangled method of lighting called gas.

I feel it my duty to say that there is grave danger in forsaking our old and tried friend, the candle. What more gracious or cordial light! And how easy to adjust the light to the occasion! How splendid is the illumination given by a thousand of these reliable wax servants at some great feast or Royal gathering!

Gas may give flaring illumination, but it depends upon coal; and how long will our coal supplies last? I foresee a day when we shall have no coal for gas-making—and by then, perhaps, the art of making candles will have disappeared! In what a sorry plight will this nation then find itself!

J. BULL
(President of the Candle-Makers' Guild).
W. H. VICTORY

Conway Hall, Red Lion Square—Women To-day and To-morrow, and other explosive compounds, with brilliant experiments, lectured on by Mrs. Mary Stocks, Mr. James Laver, Mrs. Blackett Jefferies, M.D. The principles of the various specimens and exhibits explained, including the women in use in industry and the more recent patents in use in the professions. Supply and preparation of women for domestic and industrial purposes. How to keep women clean and in good working order. During each evening, Dr. Joad will explode several women for purposes of amusement and public instruction.

FERGIE

RESULT OF COMPETITION No. 887

Set by Sebastian

Sixteen lines of verse on the almost unnoticed signing of five Peace Treaties in Paris.

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Report by Sebastian

"Thou wast not born for us, bedraggled bird
Our hungry generation treads thee down."

So Terence Melican. Good entries by L. G. Ucall, Xanthixos, Willy Tadpole, Hassall Pitman, and many others. I award 1st prize of 3 guineas to R. J. P. Hewison and £1 to L. E. Jones, Harry Broadbent and Roland Bibby, but have space for only two entries.

1ST PRIZE

POST ARMA SILENT LEGES

Amid the clash of armèd war
The laws, men tell us, silent are:
And now that warfares cease
Soft-footed enters Peace.

As shy, half doubting her own birth,
For still resounds the groaning earth,
Though cannon's mouth be mute.
With more distressful bruit.

Though Peace brings medicinal laws
To five that chose the worser cause,
She utters but half-heard
Her reasonable word.

Such tumults yet the nations try
They scarce would lend an ear or eye
Did she triumphant come
With trumpet and with drum.

R. J. P. HEWISON

2ND PRIZE

"I have heard, Father Atlee," our Dame Peace remarked,
"That some treaties of mine have been signed.
I feel the achievement should not pass unmarked;
Pass my trumpets and drum, do you mind?"

"What was that?" asked the ancient. "I fear you must yell,
For the storms in the tea-cups still swell.
The press lords' red herrings drone loud through the air
And the Tories are tolling a knell."

"It is odd," said the lady, "I strain at my horn,
But I can't raise the least doh-de-doh. . . ."
"Pardon me," Father Atlee said, "But I shoul d warn
You it's blocked up with coal-dust and snow."

"Kindly Fates!" beseeched Peace, "Preserve Ern from the goons
Who have packed my drum tight with lampoons!
I'll try with my cornet—tch, tch, now, that's torn it—
It's stuffed with new Shinwell cartoons."

ROLAND BIBBY

. . . . for these splendid men.

Round our coasts the perils of war are over, but the work of the Lifeboat Service and its perils remain. Your help is needed.

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Company Meeting

BRITISH TYRE & RUBBER

INCREASED PROFIT AND DIVIDEND

The twenty-third annual general meeting of the British Tyre and Rubber Co., Ltd., was held on February 14 in London.

Sir Walrond Sinclair, K.B.E. (the chairman), said that they were able to place in the hands of the shareholders this year a consolidated statement of assets and liabilities and also a consolidated profit and loss account. It was impracticable to provide comparative figures in those consolidated accounts on this, the first publication, owing to certain of the subsidiary companies' accounts for the previous year not covering a full year's trading.

The profit and loss account of the British Tyre and Rubber Co. showed manufacturing and trading profits, after providing profits tax and excess profits tax and including the net dividends from subsidiary companies at the substantial figure of £384,088, an increase of £98,388 over the previous year. That was a very satisfactory result in a year in which trading conditions had been most difficult.

While the subsidiary companies had contributed their share, the substantial increase arose as a result of the company's own operations and corresponded with a greatly increased turnover. Sundry revenue at £9,256 was only fractionally lower and brought the total of gross profit up to £393,344. The charges against that were clearly set out and the profit, subject to income tax, at £313,129, compared with £218,131 a year ago. The Board felt that the shareholders should participate in the increased profits. They accordingly recommended a final dividend of 10 per cent, making a total of 15 per cent for the year, the highest distribution ever paid by the company.

The report was adopted.

Company Meeting

GREAT WESTERN RAILWAY

LORD PORTAL ON NATIONALISATION

THE annual general meeting of The Great Western Railway Company was held on March 5th at Paddington Station.

The Rt. Hon. Viscount Portal, P.C., D.S.O., M.V.O., the chairman, said that including the balance brought forward from last year, and the profit of £245,074 on realisation of investments, the amount available for appropriation was £7,981,709 against £7,405,560 last year. They felt they could safely recommend a dividend of 3 per cent for the half-year ended 31st December last, making 5 per cent for the year.

Last year he had told them that it was the Government's intention during the life of the present Parliament to introduce measures designed to bring transport services essential to the economic well-being of the Nation under public ownership and control. The Bill was now in the committee stage. The adoption of this course necessarily limited discussion and opportunities for criticism had been restricted still further as the result of the resolution passed by the House of Commons imposing a guillotine procedure. Stockholders had doubtless taken due note of that. The railway companies and other inland transport undertakings had opposed the Bill and would continue to do so, not only to protect the interests of stockholders and the staff, but because there was nothing in the Bill to indicate the means by which a more efficient and economical transport service was to be provided and the benefits which users were likely to obtain.

Although it had long been recognised that the main transport problem was that of securing a greater measure of co-ordination between the various forms of transport, the Bill contained no constructive plan for dealing with the problem. The total market valuation of their undertaking, based on the compensation terms set out in the Bill, only amounted to about £163,000,000. While it was not possible to give any actual figures of the value of the physical assets which the Government would acquire, it was safe to say that they were worth more than the proposed total compensation. Their rolling stock, which stood at £22,000,000, was estimated to be worth nearly double that amount.

The strength of their financial position was demonstrated by the balance sheet. In addition to their physical assets, their liquid resources amounted to some £49,000,000, including the investments held by the Trust Fund. Moreover, a conservative estimate of the market value of their investments in associated road undertakings would be £7,000,000 compared with the £3,000,000 shown in the capital account.

The basis on which the exchange values of the railway stocks had been fixed entailed a substantial diminution of income to the stockholders. The Government insisted on treating Stock Exchange prices as reflecting the operation of the law of supply and demand, but Stock Exchange bargains were between a willing buyer and a willing seller, and it could not be said that railway stockholders as a whole were willing sellers.

The net result of the proposals in the Bill was that the stockholders would be deprived of £18,000,000 per annum—which, incidentally would mean a loss to the Exchequer of about £8,000,000—and whether the saving effected at their expense would benefit the users of transport to any material extent or be absorbed mainly in additional costs was certainly problematical.

The report was adopted.

Appointments Vacant

UNIV. of Durham. Applics. invited for post of Director of Extra-Mural Studies in the Durham Division, at a salary of £800, with superann. (F.S.S.U.). Post is a full-time appointment, but the person appointed will be expected to take some part in teaching within the University. Further partics. from W. S. Angus, Registrar, University Office, 46 North Bailey, Durham, with whom 6 copies of applications should be lodged by March 19.

UNIV. College of Swansea. Council invites applics. for post of Lecturer in Economics. An essential part of the duties of the post will be to teach statistics both at an elementary and an advanced level. Salary will be fixed at a position on the scale (£675, rising by annual increments of £25 to a max. of £750 p.a.) according to qualifics. and exp. Further partics. from Registrar, University College, Singleton Park, Swansea, by whom applics. must be received on/before April 2.

L.C.C.—Major Establishment. An open competitive examination for appointments to first class (b) of the major establishment commences May 12, 1947. Standard slightly higher than intermediate examination for first degree of London Univ. Candidates must be 17½ and under 18½ on August 1, 1947. Appointments reserved for successful candidates called for military service before taking up duties. Promotion to higher administrative positions in Council's service is on merit. Applic. forms (O.C.1) (to be retd., with fee of £1, by March 24, 1947), obtainable with full partics. from Acting Clerk of Council, County Hall, S.E.1. (Send stamped add. foolscap env.) (81)

L.C.C. Psychiatric Social Worker reqd. for research unit for neuro-syphilis in malarial therapy unit at Horton Hospital, Epsom, Surrey. Candidates must hold Mental Health Certificate of London School of Economics or equiv. qualific. Officers will be reqd. to co-operate with medical staff in investigating history of mental cases and supervising social welfare of patients. Salary £320, rising to £480 p.a. Comm. salary according to exp. Applic. form obtainable from M.O. of H. (B), Mental Health Services, County Hall, Westminster Bridge, S.E.1. (310.)

APPLICS. invited for Social Welfare Adviser to Secretary of State for Colonies. Candidates should possess a knowledge of general organisation of social welfare activities in this and other countries, and of the technique of operation through government agencies and voluntary organisations. Should have practical exp. of social welfare work in some of its more important aspects and should possess some knowledge of special problems which have to be dealt with in the Colonies. Candidate selected would be reqd. to visit the Colonial Territories from time to time. Candidates (except established civil servants) must have been born on or after March 1, 1897. Further partics., together with applic. form, from Secy., Civil Service Commission, Burlington Gardens, W.1, quoting No. 1824. Applic. forms to be returned by March 31.

MINERS' Welfare Commission invites applics. for appointment as executive officer (male/female) to exercise control of admin. detail and clerical staff of its architects' dept. in London. Previous exp. in architect's or surveyor's office is desirable though not essential. Comm. salary between £353-£615 for men, and £283-£492 for women, will depend on qualifics. and exp. Applic. forms from Establishment Officer, Miners' Welfare Commission, Ashley Court, Ashtead, Surrey.

L.C.C. Charge Physiotherapist (woman) reqd. for treatment of neurosey at Sutton Emergency Hospital, Brighton Road, Sutton, Surrey. Salary in accordance with recommendations of Joint Negotiating Cttee. on Salaries and Wages (Hospital Staffs), at present £320, rising to £380 p.a. Scale under review. Comm. salary according to exp. Must be regd. with Chartered Socy. of Physiotherapy. Applic. forms from Med. Supt. at Hospital. (312.)

NORTHUMBERLAND and Tyneside Council of Social Service. Applics. invited for post of Rural Officer for well-developed work in Northumberland. Social Service and administrative exp. desirable; informed interest in arts and country life essential. Ex-Service people willing to learn considered. Salary £325-£450 according to qualics. and exp. Further partics. from Director, N. & T.C.S.S., 17 Ellison Place, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1.

ISLE of Wight C.C. Educ. Cttee. Applics. invited for post of full-time Youth Leader (male) in Cowes area. Candidates must be expd. in Club Leadership and/or have attended recog. Youth Training Courses for Club Leaders. Salary £300 p.a., rising by £15 p.a. to £525, but increments will be allowed for war service and previous club exp. Further details and applic. forms from A. L. Hutchinson, Director of Education, County Hall, Newport, I.W. Closing date for receipt of applics. is March 22.

L.C.C. Reqd. at Mavis Hostel for Working Girls, Oakley St., Chelsea, S.W.3, a Resident Warden. Hostel accommodates 15 girls placed in employment from Social Welfare Schools, and applicants must possess judgment and exp. in dealing with difficult adolescent girls and ability to manage residential hostel. Salary £90-£10-£120, plus cost of living addition (at present £31 10s.) together with an annual allowance of £50, pending review of salary in due course. Emoluments of board, lodging and laundry. Applic. forms (stamped addressed env. nec.) from Education Officer (S.S.5), County Hall, S.E.1, returnable by March 18. (390.)

THE Bristol Assocn. of Girls' Clubs reqs. Warden and Assistant to staff Holiday House for yng. people at Wrington, Somerset. Suit friends or married couple. Applics. immediately to B.A.G.C., 10 Park St., Bristol, 1.

Appointments Vacant—continued

THE United Nations Association is about to appoint an Asst. Secretary to its Council for Education in World Citizenship which is responsible for work in the schools and among young people. Salary, £350 p.a. Pref. to ex-Service men and women with University qualifics. Form and partics. from Secretary, United Nations Assocn., 11 Maiden Lane, W.C.2, on receipt of stamped addressed foolscap envelope.

L.C.C.—Social worker—woman assist. to local organiser (under 40) reqd. for work under Mental Deficiency Acts, especially visiting and reporting upon mental defectives living in their homes. Candidates should have good educ. and exp. of social work and visiting. Diploma or degree in social science with knowl. of typing and clerical work desirable. Sal. £323, rising to £432 p.a., incl. cost-of-living addition. For applic. form, returnable within 10 days, send stamped addressed foolscap envelope to Medical Officer of Health (M.D/A.), Mental Health Services, County Hall, Westminster Bridge, S.E.1 (233).

EAST Suffolk County Educ. Cttee. A quald. man or woman Youth Leader is regd. as soon as possible, for Halesworth Youth Centre. Exp. of mixed club work is essential and training as a teacher or youth leader is most desirable. The development of further educational activities is important part of club programme. Salary scale: Men £330×£15 to £405 plus £20 p.a. for a graduate; women £300×£10 to £350 plus £15 p.a. for a graduate. Applics., with two copies of recent testimonials, should be sent by Mar. 15 to Chief Educ. Officer, County Hall, Ipswich.

BRITISH Scientific Instrument Research Association has vacancies for grad. physicists, with high academic qualifics., to work at its new laboratories in S.E. London in following categories: (1) Thermionics and photoemission; (2) Recording and control of industrial operations by electrical means; (3) General experimental physics; (4) Electronics. Applicants should have had some industrial exp. and salary (with F.S.S.U. benefits after a probationary period) will be according to age and qualifics. Applics. to The Director of Research and Secretary, British Scientific Instrument Research Assocn., 26 Russell Sq. W.C.1.

LADY Margaret Hall Settlement, 131 Kennington Road, S.E.11. Resident Organiser reqd. for Social Centre, Waterloo District. Sal. from £300 p.a., with flat, according to exp. Write, enclosing recent testims., to Miss Larken.

L.C.C. Physiotherapists (women) reqd. at Bexley (L.C.C.) Hospital, Bexley, Kent, and Long Grove Hospital, Epsom, Surrey (hospitals for nervous and mental disorders). Must be regd. with Chartered Society of Physiotherapy. Salary in accordance with recommendations of Joint Negotiating Cttee. on Salaries and Wages (Hospital Staffs)—£300, rising to £360 p.a. (scale under review). Comm. salary according to exp. Applic. forms, returnable within 10 days, from M.O.H. (J), Mental Health Services, County Hall, Westminster Bridge, S.E.1. (377.)

THE Jewish Orphanage, West Norwood, reqs. Jewish Social Worker (male) of good educ., sound organiser, able to control staff, expd. in dealing with boys of school age, to take charge under Principal. Comm. salary up to £500 according to qualifics., with residential emoluments. Write, stating age, nationality, and full partics. of exp. and qualific., to Secy., 76 Leigham Court Rd. S.W.16.

SCOTTISH Co-op. Wholesale Socy., Ltd., wishes to appoint as Director of Research a man of exceptional academic qualifics. and practical ability, capable of founding and administrating a research institute covering every aspect of research reqd. by the Society. Age prefy. under 50. Attractive salary, but only distinguished men need apply. Applics. marked "Research," with full details of scientific technical and admin. exp., should be made, stating terms reqd., to Robert W. Leckie, Secy., S.C.W.S., Ltd., 95 Morrison St., Glasgow, C.5.

ACCOUNTANT/Secy. Large American firm engaged internatl. trade reqs. Chartered or Incorporated Accountant as Secy. to its English Co. Unusual opport. for yng. man with energy, intelligence and keen commercial sense. Write, full partics. educ., background, exp., qualifics., refs., sal. reqd. Box 5236.

FABER & Faber have vacancies for a full-time Assistant Research Editor and a Bibliographer on staff of a Dictionary of Painters which they are now preparing. Languages and acquaintance with the literature of art-history essential. Write, giving full partics., to 24 Russell Sq., London, W.C.1, marked "Faber Dictionary."

THE Caldecott Community. Wanted prog. young certificated teacher to take charge of Junior School work at Community. Interest in social work amongst difficult and homeless children essential. Should have had exp. of primary work in a Local Educ. Cttee. School. The Community returns to Kent summer 1947. Applics. to Miss Rendel, Hyde Heath, Wareham, Dorset.

ST. Mary's Town and Country School reqs. (a) at Boarding School, Stanford Pk., nr. Rugby, Swinford 50, English Master and a Kindergarten Teacher (pref. couple) offering Painting/Acting/Games; (b) at Day School, 38 Eton Ave., N.W.3, PRI. 4306, Asst. Master for Gen. Sci., Carpentry, Games for up to 14's.

ASSISTANT Foster Mothers reqd. at Stanway, Tendring, Romford and Billericay Children's Homes. Interesting work amongst normal boys and girls of different ages. Good wages and conditions. Apply: Chief Social Welfare Officer, E.C.C., Waterloo Lane, Chelmsford, Essex.

WANTED immediately, 2 cooks for boarding school. Exp. essential. Apply Bursar, Badminton School, Westbury-on-Trym, Bristol.

Appointments Vacant—continued

MISTRESS wanted in May for jun. class (9-10yrs.) in Edinburgh. Interest in co-educ. and modern outlook essential; games, dancing, handwork a recomm. Resident post, good sal. and superann. Headmaster, John Watson's School, Greenlaw, Berwickshire.

OPPORTUNITY occurs in film for young girl aged 18-25, with very extreme short-sight. It is essential that applicants should wear very thick pebble lenses of minus 15 or over, or lenticular lenses. High sal. offered for whole/part-time wk., acting exp. unnec. Univ. educ. pref. but not essential. Box 5686.

INTERESTING post (Manchester) with good salary for textile designer or someone with artistic ability. Expd. in organisation, handling staff, capable of taking responsibility. Box 5562.

JUNIOR shorthand-typist wanted by West End publishing house. Jonathan Cape, Ltd., 30 Bedford Square, W.C.1.

ALLIANCE Bldg. Society, Brighton, are installing a Canteen and require a Supervisor to organize same. Must have knowledge of catering and pref. Dietetics. Combined with duties are those of Welfare Officer incl. the charge of Staff Club. Sal. £325, prog. and interesting post. Letters only marked "Canteen Supervisor," to Alliance Building Society, Princes House, North St., Brighton, 1.

ELECTRICAL Industries' Benevolent Assoc. invites applics. for domestic staff positions at home for old people, Broome Park, Betchworth, Surrey (James Erskine Cunning Memorial). Cook (some management capacity an additional advantage) and general staff wanted. Situations unusually attractive to right kind of applicant; no institutional atmosphere whatever. Bus passes door. Applics. should state sal. reqd. and gen. exp., whereupon further partics. will be supplied. E.I.B.A., 32 Old Burlington St. W.1.

COOKS (female) wanted for Hostels run by Surrey War Agricultural Cttee. for members of the Women's Land Army. Similar exp. not nec. Those with adaptability and interest in cooking considered. Wages from £3 weekly, all found. Apply Hostels Dept., S.W.A.E.C., White House, Buckland, nr. Betchworth.

ADDITIONAL domestic staff reqd. Catering supervisor willing to do relief cooking, cooks, asst. cooks, waitresses, etc. Good wages and comfortable quarters. Apply: Manager, Langdale Estate, nr. Ambleside, Westmorland.

SPECIAL School for Maladjusted Boys 11-16. Wanted, Asst. Master for Gen. Science subjects. Must be keen on working in this type of Special School, and be prepared to take part in out of school activities. Music and scouting if poss. Apply: Rev. Fr. Owen, S.S.F., St. Francis School for Boys, Hooke, nr. Beaminster, Dorset.

HOUSEKEEPER reqd., live as fam., prof. couple, 2 children (in day nursery). Finchley. Urgent. Box 5343.

COUPLE wanted, cook housekeeper and gardener in co-ed. school (food reform). Would suit intelligent couple interested in education. Box 5637.

Appointments Wanted

WANTED, post requiring organisational ability and initiative. Experience supervising clerical staff, workpeople and transport. Sound knowledge Trade Union and Local Government procedure. Box 5305.

EX-Servicewoman of intelligence, initiative, wide interests (competent typist) sks. interesting and remunerative employment with publishers/bookseller. Box 5271.

GIRL, 22, attending Art Classes, reqs. post with two free afternoons. Interested Music, Art, Lit. Expert S./Typ. Box 5263.

DRILLING Industry. Experienced field engineer, good sales ability, seeks progressive work where youth no obstacle. Box 5245.

YOUNG man literary and Social Science interests sks. employment, 11 yrs. clerical and accounting exp. Anything interesting considered. Box 5244.

YOUNG lady doing Froebel training, sks. holiday post with family and children going abroad. Easter or summer. Box 5238.

YOUNG man, 27, good educ., varied experience of social work, commercial training, office admin., seeks post; preferably social welfare. Box 5111.

PART-time job wanted by woman, secretarial or otherwise, pref. political/lit. Sh.-typing, French, German. Box 5771.

AUSTRIAN Refugee, good family, with daughter 9 months, sks. job as cook or mother's help. London or suburbs. Box 5349.

RECENTLY released soldier (24), of certain literary ability, making journalism his career, reqs. post immediately. Initial status less important than opportunity to gain knowledge and exp. in mod. journalism. Box 5347.

PRIVATE Sec. (28), capable, educated, polit., lit., com. exp., drives car, willing travel; desires responsible post. Box 5342.

CHILDREN'S work in school (matron) or family wanted by lady fully expd. in both and all ages of children, where mother with own means is temporarily welcome on terms to be stated or arrangements to live out can be made. Best refs. Free Easter. Lond. area/Home Counties pref. Box 5463.

COLLEGE post in history or tutoring desired by American, B.A. Wesleyan, M.A. Harvard, single, 32, Phi Beta Kappa, Protestant, 8 yrs. exp. Harold Hancock, 82 West Main St. Westerville, Ohio, U.S.A.

MOTHER'S help. Young Danish lady in England for 5 mnths. from March 1 sks. res. post with good family, S. Lond., Tunbridge Wells, Tenbridge/Sevenoaks distr. Sewing, mending, care small children. Write, stating sal. offered. Box 5687.

EXPD. Secy., married, capable, will undertake wk. 2/3 days wkly. Box 5171.

Appointments Wanted—continued

LECTURERS, Artistes, requiring experienced live wire manager, please write Box 4504.

Accommodation—Vacant and Wanted

TO let in flat, N.W.8, divan-room, basin c.h.w., to prof./bus. man. CUN. 0888.

FREE accom. offered mother and child by young woman civil servant. Country cott. accessible London. Share exps. housekeeping. Box 5045.

FURNISHED cottage, Bucks, to let at once, 4 months, possibly longer. Sleep six, elec., gas cooker, productive garden, tel., books. Ratcliffe, Whiteleaf, Princes Risborough.

RENT free cottage, 4 rms., sound, unmodernised, outbuildings, garden, offered return pt.-time and seasonal work on 30-acre dairy farm. Free milk, potatoes, etc. Suit painter, student, remittance man; reliability, commonsense essen. Children welcome. P. Y. Betts, Tynewndwn, Cellan, Lampeter, Cardiganshire.

CO. Kerry. Hse. to let, pref. long period. 5 rms. furn., 3 unfurn., garage, water in bathroom, bedding, etc., 1 acre land. Lovely country, bathing in Dingle Bay, 3 mins. bus and village. Sweeny, 12 Kent Tce. N.W.1. Pad. 6170 day.

EXCHANGE s.c. 3 bedrm. 4th floor flat adj. Battersea Pk. and river for small Hse./Gdn. about 1 hr. City. Box 5353.

EXCH. small furn. flat, Cambridge, for furn./unfurn. flat London. Box 5293.

SMALL flat centre Cheltenham to let in return for house, flat/cottage nr. Chigwell, Essex. Box 5370.

SEASIDE house wanted, exchange small house Hampstead Heath, for summer or part of it. Box 5478.

CAN anybody help impecunious M.P. to find flat in Lond. area now or within 3 mths.? 2 bedrooms, stg.-room, kitch., bath. Pref. unfurn. Mod. rent essential. Box 5742.

WANTED, unfurn. studio/large attic; W.C.1, W.1, S.W.1, S.E.1, W.2, W.11, N.W.6, N.6, and phone, power, water, good outlook, quiet and cheapness only essential. BM/VEHW, W.C.1.

WOULD professional or business lady with child/children offer accom. London furn./unfurn., to couple with baby, wife nurse physiotherapist willing look after children. Best refs. Box 5334.

EX-Army Officer, marrying shortly, wants small s.c. flat or house, furn./unfurn., anywhere accessible Central London. Box 5359.

INDIAN Research Student (L.S.E.) would like accommodation as paying guest in English family. London area. Box 5170.

WANTED by 3 Ex-Service men, furnished flat, London, June-Dec. Box 5447.

YOUNG married couple, both univ. grads., require unfurn. flat/rooms London area/N.W. suburbs. Box 5302.

COUPLE, anxious to start family, require unfurn. s.c. flat/house, Fulham, or near. Box 5306.

VEGETARIAN urgently needs lodging Evesham district. Box 5274.

URGENTLY reqd. by young married couple (shortly expecting baby), unfurn. flat, maisonette/bungalow in gd. class resid. district, pref. within 8 mls. Newcastle city centre. 1st class refs can be supplied. Gd. rent offered. 6 months paid in advance. Box 613, L.P.E. 110, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.2.

SOLICITOR (Ex-Service) and wife require rent unfurn. house/flat in/nr. Watford. Incl. rent not exc. £130 p.a. Box 4622.

Examinations and Scholarships

ASSOCN. of Certified and Corporate Accountants. The half-yearly Prelim., Intermed. and Final Exams. for candidates will be held on Tues., Wed., and Thurs., June 3rd, 4th and 5th next, in Aberdeen, Belfast, Birmingham, Bournemouth, Bristol, Cardiff, Cork, Dublin, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Hull, Leeds, Liverpool, London, Manchester, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Nottingham, Plymouth and Sheffield, and at such other Centres, if any, as circumstances may warrant. Entries must be received on or before April 1, 1947, at offices of Assocn., 22 Bedford Sq., W.C.1.

BLUNDELL'S School. Scholarship Examination June 10, 11 and 12, 1947. Three £100 scholarships; three £60 scholarships; exhibitions of £50, £40 and £30. Full partics. from Headmaster, Blundell's School, Tiverton.

Fellowships and Studentships

UNIVERSITY of London. Research Fellowships in History, 1947-48. Several Fellowships in History, value £250 a year, will be awarded in June to grads. of London and other univs. They will be tenable at Institute of Historical Research, Tavistock House South, W.C.1. Further partics. and forms of entry (returnable by 1st May) from Secy. of Institute.

UNIV. of London, Postgraduate Studentships. Applics. invited from Graduates of Univ. of London for: (a) 60 Postgraduate Studentships in any Faculty, each of value of £250 and tenable for one year. (b) George William Britt (Senior) Studentship in Modern Languages, of value of £100 and tenable for one year. (c) A number of Postgraduate Travelling Studentships, tenable for one year. Value of Studentships will be fixed in each case. For Studentships under (a) and (b) Graduates must be of not more than three years' standing; for Studentships under (c) Graduates must be under age of 28. Applics. for all above Studentships must be recd. by April 1, 1947. Forms and further partics. from Academic Registrar, Senate House, W.C.1.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS, 3s. per line (average 6 words). Box number 1s. extra. Prepayment essential. Press Tuesday. Insertion delayed many weeks. State latest date acceptable. 10 Great Turnstile, London, W.C.1. Hol. 3216.